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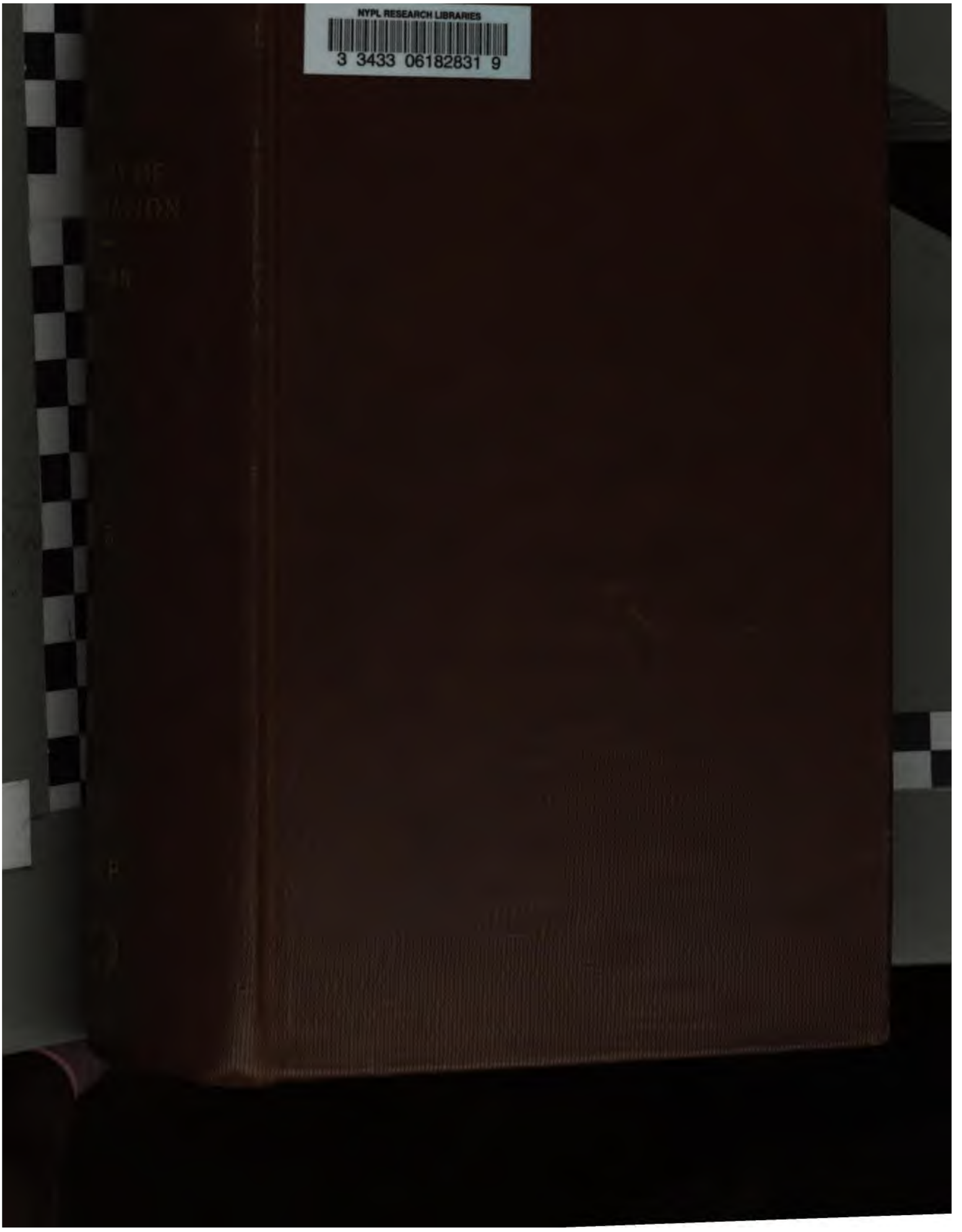
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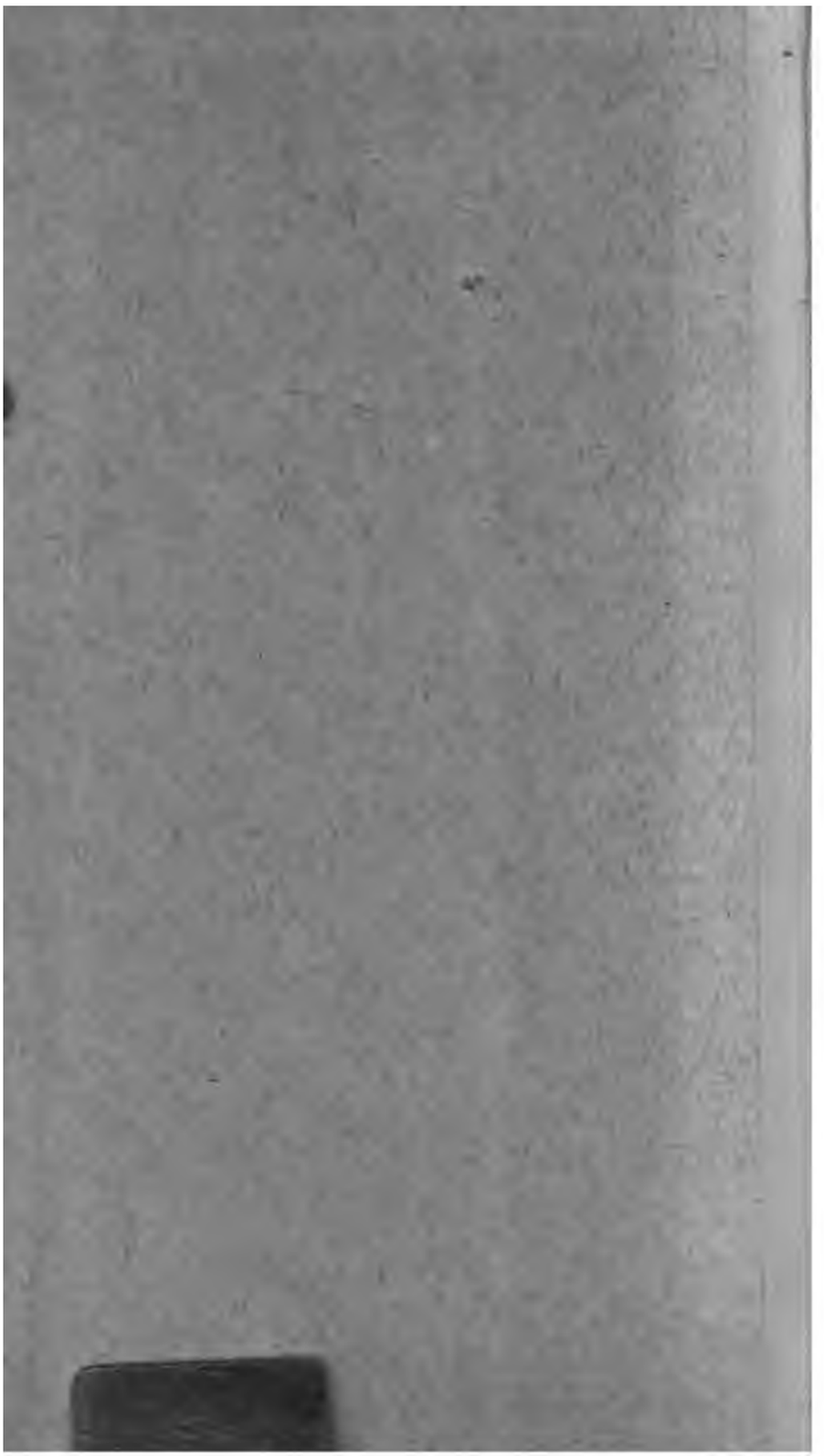
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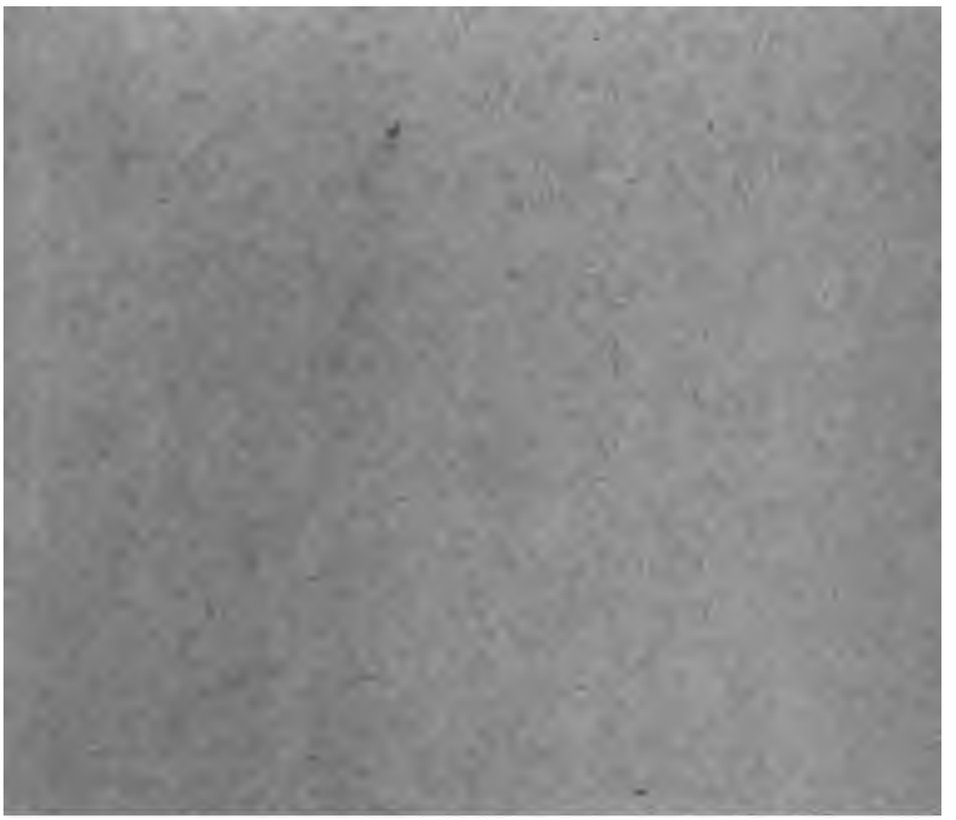
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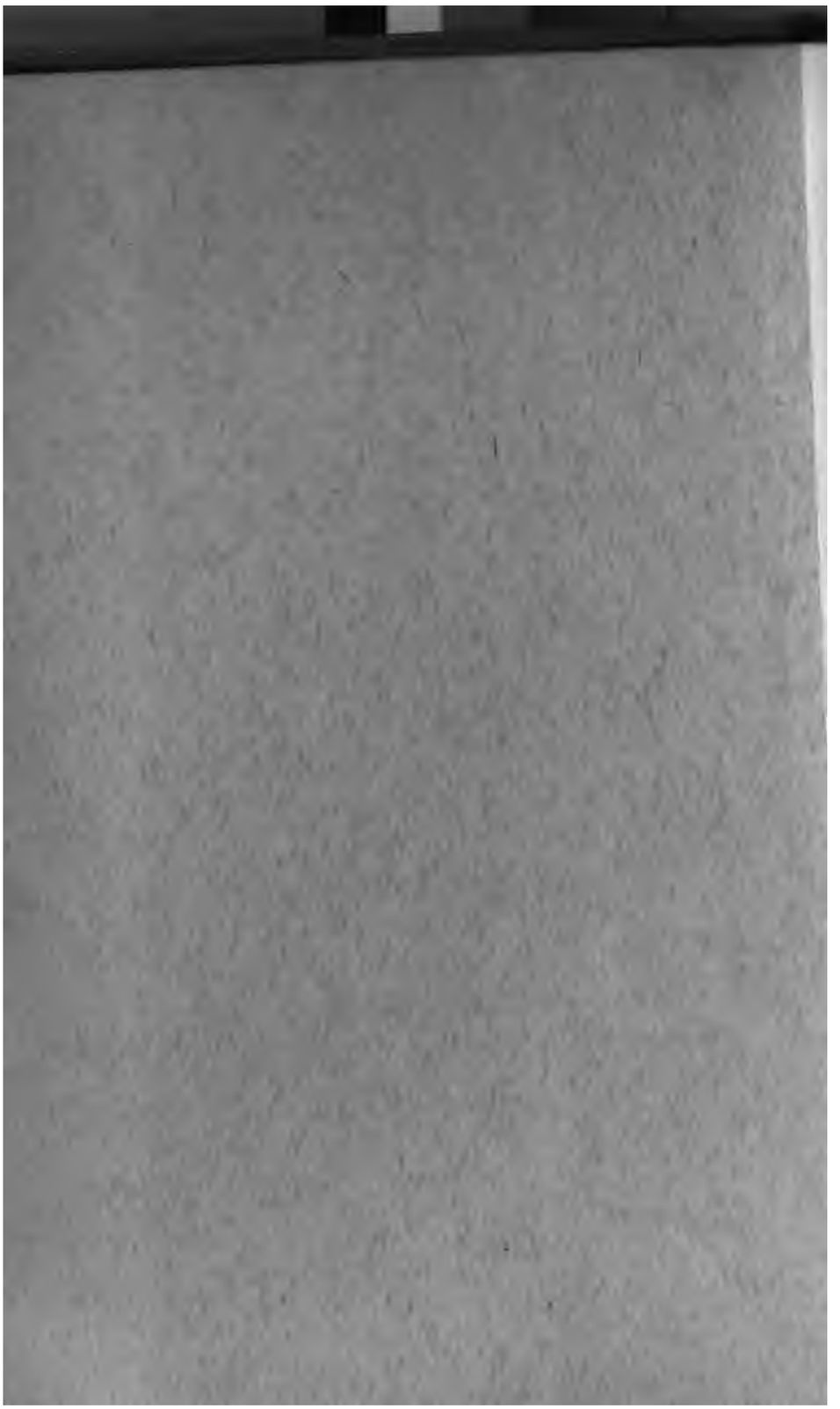
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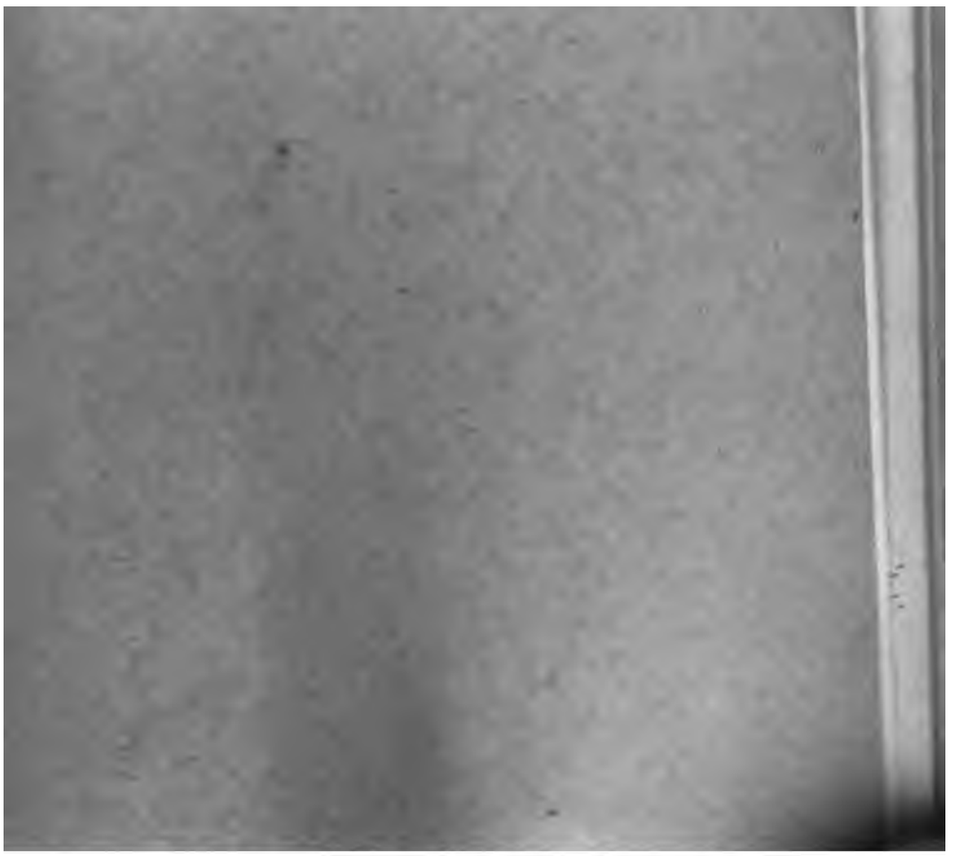
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HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. III.

The Medieval World; OR Dark Ages,

BY

E. A. ALLEN.

CINCINNATI:
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PREFACE.

THIS VOLUME treats of the Medieval World in culture, and is the third of the series entitled "THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION." As explained in the preceding volume, the Medieval and Modern Worlds, as far as the history of culture is concerned, are entirely taken up with the consideration of Aryan civilization. Strictly speaking, there are no broad, well marked divisions of Aryan history and culture. The Aryans were the last great people to emerge into the light of history. Their growth in political power and culture has been slow but ever onward, until, at present, their ranks include all the most powerful and progressive nations of the world.

We will, in this volume, treat of that period of Aryan development which culminated in the Discovery of America, the Invention of Printing and the Protestant Reformation. In Part I., we treat of the Political Development of the Aryans during the period of

time just mentioned. We have tried to present a connected account of this development in the five chapters devoted to this part of the work. Although we must let this part speak for itself, yet we can not refrain from speaking of the main assertion sought to be supported in these chapters.

It has been very generally asserted that the Ayrans were Asiatic people; but of late years an opposite theory has sprung up, and is supported by some of the best scholars of the day. In brief, this theory teaches that Europe is, and always has been, the home of the Aryans; that in Europe, owing to the co-working of many causes, was first evolved the Aryan people. The literature on this subject, though rapidly growing, is at present mostly confined to foreign writers, and we have, unfortunately, been unable to examine it very extensively; yet but a very brief examination is required to show that this theory possesses many elements of strength, and we have little doubt that before many years it will be one of the accepted conclusions of science.

After having thus outlined the political development of the Aryans, we turn to consider their development in culture. In this part, we strive to make apparent the fact, that Aryan development has flowed on in an ever-widening and deepening stream. We aim to show that the general idea in regard to the so-called "Dark Ages" is not correct. There has been no retrograde movement in Aryan culture. The freshness and vivacity of Grecian culture may have disappeared, but just so does the charm of morning disappear before the pressure of mid-day. The concluding chapter of this part—Aryan Religion—is a continuation of Primitive Religion of Volume II. Regarding religion as one of the principal factors of civilization, it is incumbent upon us to trace the development of Aryan religion. It will be seen in the sequel that here, as elsewhere, the Aryans played a most important part in the world's history.

Regarding Europe as the home of the Aryan people gives us a new insight into the nature of Aryan civilization. There is being

evolved in America to-day a new type of people, possessing distinct racial characteristics, and they will probably some day evolve a distinctive civilization. Just so we are to regard the Aryans of Europe. Probably centuries of time elapsed before this race type was fully developed, and many other centuries passed over before they had assimilated the culture of Asia, and had fairly started forward in their own career. Prolonging our mental vision back some thousand of years before the Christian Era, we can dimly make out the same succession of events in Western Asia, which resulted in the Semitic civilization.

Considering Egypt as really part of Asia, the civilization of Asia, Europe, and America will correspond, in a general way, to the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Worlds in culture. This last division has not yet become distinct; we still call ourselves Aryans, and our culture is not materially different from that of Europe. Some centuries hence this distinction will probably become fully apparent. It is only by thus taking broad, general views that we begin to form adequate ideas as to the march of events in the world's history. Compared with these great movements—the slow rise of races of men to a commanding position in the culture history of the world, their culmination and decline—how utterly insignificant is the life of the individual!

In reference to the preparation of this volume, the same general plan was pursued as in the preceding one. Mr. ALLEN was assisted by the two gentlemen already named, viz.: WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., University of Michigan, and EMIL REICH, D. C. L., University of Vienna. While we have to thank them for many valuable suggestions as to the work in general, we wish to make a special acknowledgment to Mr. BOUGHTON for his services in Part I, and a similar acknowledgment is due Dr. REICH in reference to Chapters VI, VII and VIII. The author and his assistants have aimed in all cases to present the latest and best sustained views of scholars in the various fields they have touched upon. Where we have differed from the

conclusions generally given, we have only done so after a full consideration of all the facts of the cases; and in all such instances, we have aimed to give in foot notes the authorities and reasoning followed.

We take occasion once more to return our sincere thanks to Mr. A. W. WHELPLEY, Librarian of the Cincinnati Public Library, and his corps of assistants. The same kind assistance mentioned in the preceding volume was continued in this. It is not too much to say that much of the value of this work is owing to the voluminous material to be found in this library. We trust, that all who read this volume will find much to commend, little to disprove, and that such of our readers as never gave much thought to the origin and development of the Aryan people will be tempted to pursue the subject further. We assure them that they will never regret such a course.

E. A. Allen

CINCINNATI, *June* 1, 1888.

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Part I.

History of the Political Development of the Aryan People.

I. Primitive Aryans.

II. Asiatic Aryans.

III. Hellenic Aryans.

IV. Roman Aryans.

V. Rise of Modern Nations.

The hand upon thy dial, Time, now marks
The hour of change. The Orient, effete
With opulence, is crumbling fast to dust.
Lo from its ruins, Phenix like, appears
A new born race.
A heritage is theirs.
O'er-reaching all the earth. The East gives up
Its hoarded wealth. The West invites them come
And occupy its boundless fields. The Earth
Unbosoms mines of jewels rare, while at
The touch of their deft hands fair beauteous forms,
Almost divine, spring from the senseless rock.
With keen and searching minds, they penetrate
The realms of endless thought. In search of truth,
They enter quiet Nature's holy walks
And study God's most subtle laws.
Behold
When Iran comes, a Universe bursts forth
In welcome strains, and rich profusion crowns
The ardent zeal of that aspiring race.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.



CHAPTER I.

THE PRIMITIVE ARYANS.

Introduction—Aryan Linguistic Family—Geographical Location of the Aryans—The Evidence of Language—Aryan Migrations—Celtic—Cimmerian—Dorian—Thracian—The Phrygians—The Slavonians—Aryan Influence in Eastern Asia—Ainos—Coreans—Polynesians—Hindoos—Iranians—Asiatic—Asiatic Origin of the Aryans—Difficulties of this Theory—European Origin—The Evidence of Ethnology—Of Language—Advantage of the European Theory—Conclusion.

IN MANY ways, Nature teaches us that time is long, and that she can not be hurried to her final results. In the fullness of time, the results of her methods of work are revealed, and the time taken to produce a given result is, in a sense, commensurate with its importance. This is to be seen when we consider some of the theories of modern science. They tell us of countless ages

during which our earth swung in space, a glowing orb of light. They speak of eras, exceeding in time the ability of the human mind to conceive, during which our planet was fitting as an abode for sentient beings. They have to say of the long infancy of the human race, of its slow advance in culture, of its triumph over many obstacles, and of the final appearance of that better day, when ideas of truth and justice and such an advanced stage of justice and enlightenment had been reached that we speak of man as civilized. But all this took many millenniums of years to accomplish.

Since then, many centuries have been tolled off in rapidly passing years. From a distance, taking a mental survey of the entire field, making reasonable allowance for that which is yet obscured by darkness, we can detect certain great planes of culture with clear traces of advance from one to the other. Closer inspection shows us that, explain it how we will, the people in these successive stages of advance are also separated by racial differences. We have the culture of the Turanian races, followed in time by the strangely tropical growth of the Valley of the Nile, which was in turn succeeded by the Semitic culture of Western Asia.

It further appears that different portions of the earth's surface have been at different times the seats of the most advanced culture. In this respect, both Asia and Africa hold an important position in the culture history of the world. There was the early home of Civilization, there first the light of history broke through the clouds of prehistoric times. The time was now at hand when the seat of learning and culture was to depart forever from the countries of its birth, to reappear with added lustre in a country beyond the blue billows of the Mediterranean, the

narrow strait of the Bosporus, the tossing waves of the Euxine. That country was Europe. There, for some thousands of years, a sturdy people had been passing through the various stages of Barbarism.

That long period was now past. The hills and vales of classic Greece had now caught and focussed the light of Oriental culture. And sunny Italy, too, had seen the daylight in the East, and was laying the foundation of its world-wide culture. These countries, however, formed but the most advanced outpost of the Aryan people The grassy steppes of Russia, the vast forests of Germany the fiord valleys of Norway, were likewise the homes of numerous kindred tribes, though some centuries were to elapse before they were to come to their full inheritance. Let us now take up this country; study its people in their collective sense; and learn of their condition in that primitive long-ago, before they commenced to move out of their common home; trace some of these migrations to distant portions of Asia; and, in short, study the development and scope of the Aryan, or, as we might call it, European Civilization. We have to inquire first, who were the Aryans, where were they when history dawns upon them, and where did they come from?

It has long been a matter of common understanding that the various languages of Europe are all more or less connected. There are many points of resemblance in the grammar, and even many of the words are the same. Interest in this matter was aroused to a still greater pitch when India passed into the hands of the English. The English officials, scattered in various capacities throughout the country, quickly became aware of the fact, that, not only was this language spoken in India to-day in some respects an European language; but they make the further

discovery, that, in the hands of the priestly caste, there were many volumes written in a tongue that but few could understand, though the books themselves were the sacred books of the Hindoos.

When a few scholars ventured to study this language, they found to their surprise that it, in many respects, resembled the modern languages of Europe. That language was the Sanskrit, and scholars at once set about its study. And, from that study, have come many theories concerning the Hindoos and the Europeans, and their connection with this ancient language. In short, a new science was given to the world, the science of Philology, or the comparative study of language. As a result of that study, we put into one class by themselves, as forming a closely related linguistic group, all the people of Europe, with but few exceptions,[1] and some of the people of Asia—such as the Persians, Afghans, and Hindoos and some of the but half-civilized tribes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains. We can say of the language of all these people, that their grammars are substantially the same, and that they possess great stores of common words. These words occur with a slightly different dress according to the general peculiarities of the individual language. That is to say, the common word appears in a slightly different dress according as it is used by English speaking people or Germans or Russians or Indian Brahmins. But, in all these cases, the real part of the word, the root—the nucleus—can be quite easily traced from language to language.

In another place, we have made the Aryans a principal division of the White Race.[2] All understand that this classification is one of convenience only. Of course, as the various bands separated from their common home,

1 See This Series, Vol. II. p. 33, note 2. 2 Ibid. p. 82.

they must have become intermixed with other people. Keane asserts: "The Aryan stock itself, whatever its original constitution, has everywhere become so intermixed with non-Aryan people already in possession of the land that the very expression, 'Aryan,' has almost lost its ethnical value.[1]"

This collected group of people has not always been called Aryans. Some scholars have called them "Indo-Germans." Others have used the name "Indo-Europeans." The term, *Aryan*, is a comparatively late name for the great family of nations. It is derived from the Sanskrit word, *arya*, which means, literally, noble.[2] It is also the name of a small country near where the Asiatic Aryans (The Indians and Iranians) first made their home upon reaching Central Asia. Darius, the first great Persian king, has rendered the name immortal by announcing to the world in his funeral inscription at Naksh-i-Rustan: "I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings..... Aryan of Aryan ofispring."[3] We shall adopt it throughout, for it is the most convenient term, if not the most appropriate.

In wondering at the marvelous works of the past, and the more marvelous legends that cluster around everything that is ancient—myths that have been palmed off upon the world as historical facts—we are apt to overlook the fact that we are living in the midst of a far more enlightened world than the ancients ever dreamed of. We incredulously wonder at the ancient splendor of Assyria and Babylonia; we marvel at the architectural remains of

[1] In Ramsey's "Europe," p. 55. Compare with our remarks, Vol. II. p. 33 *et seq.*

[2] Müller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 237.

[3] Dr. Oppert in "Records of the Past," Vol. IX. p. 75.

Egypt. We forget, that the Aryans began where all the rest left off, and that Aryan Civilization is far more worthy of our admiration. The Aryans have never yet been given full credit for the work which they have accomplished. Let us turn for a time from a slavish worship of antiquity, let us consider, that, if we wish to study art we visit Greece and Rome; if we wish to view the philosophy of the past, we must study Aryan classics; or, if we wish to gain a knowledge of any of the important or vital questions of the present, we turn to the Aryan scholars of to-day. Even in religion, the Aryans have furnished the world with the three most admirable systems of religion that have ever stirred the hearts of men. These are Zoroasterism, Buddhism and Christianity. As for the last, we shall see that it is and always has been pre-eminently an Aryan religion. Though of Semitic origin, it was discarded by the Hebrews. In short, all we can say of ancient culture is that it was the foundation on which Aryans built the massive superstructure of our present Civilization. The Aryans to-day include the progressive race of the world. The science and religion of the world to-day are Aryan. Let us then endeavor to come to a full understanding of the Aryan people and their culture.

The various Aryan people have not always been known by the particular names which they now bear. In ancient times, one important branch was the Celts. Though there is now no separate nationality known by that name, it was once applied to a great people who roamed over a large part of Western Europe. There were two groups of Celts, Gallic (spelled also Gaedhelic) and Cimric. The Irish are the descendants of the former, and the Welsh of the latter.[1] Historians have so often applied the name Gauls to the

1 Keane, Op. cit. p. 559.

Celts that the names may be interchanged freely, remembering that Gauls are always Celts but that the reverse need not be the case. Among the first German tribes to come into contact with civilized people, were the Teutons. Teutonic is a word that has ever since been preserved and may be applied to all German people. The name "Germans" had just come into use in the time of Tacitus, as he tells us in his Germania,[1] and it has ever since clung to the Teutons who have lived beyond the Rhine. From the third to the fifth century A. D., when the Western Roman Empire was about to fall to pieces, a number of entirely new German tribes came into prominent notice. These were the Saxons, Goths, Franks, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, Lombards, Angles, and others less prominent.[2]

The Slavonic Aryans, represented by the modern Russians, are a later people and form a distinct branch of the Aryan family. Along the shores of the Baltic, there exists to-day a peculiar people. They are called Lithuanians or Letts. Though not a numerous people, they have a language that is nearer the typical Aryan than any other existing form of speech. We know almost nothing about them, historically, and so can only guess alike at the date when they came thither and of the road by which they came. The most illustrious of the early Aryans were, of course, the Greeks and Latins. Thus far, we have mentioned those Aryans who dwelt in Europe. Europe has ever been pre-eminently the Aryan continent, but the Persians and the Indians may be mentioned as the most striking examples of Asiatic Aryans. A convenient grouping of the Aryans would be the Greco-Latins, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves.

[1] Chap. II.

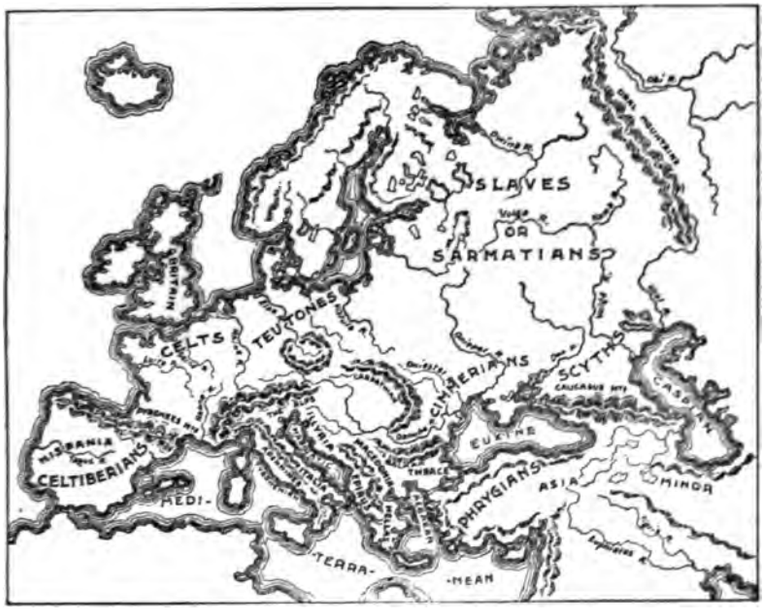
[2] Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 85, 87 and 97.

Now it must not, for an instant, be supposed that the various branches of the Aryan family have grown and developed side by side, each keeping pace with all the rest, and, finally, all together growing into our present Civilization. Such an idea would be far from the true one. Each one of the great nations, that have arisen from the primitive Aryan stock, has had its own period of growth and its own peculiar form of development. The so-called youngest, or Slave, family is still in its infancy and no one can prophesy what its future may be. The very first of what we may call Aryan civilization that appears to us in history was that of the Trojans, who were nearly related to the Greeks and Germans as we shall see later.[1] It was some six centuries after Troy had met her fate before the Persians arose to a commanding position among the nations of the world. Greece and Rome and the Neo-Persian civilization followed in quick succession, only to be superseded by the Romance and Germanic (including English) civilizations of our own time, upon which the sun in its daily course never sets. The light of Aryan civilization first dawned on the East, and there it first attained its meridian height. From that time until this, it has gone steadily forward toward the West, journeying backward for one brief period only, when the Persians arose to a commanding place among the nations of the world in the time of Darius the Great. It crossed the Atlantic, illumined the New World, and the waves of the Pacific, that break on the shores of Asia, will soon, let us hope, glow refulgent with its light.

Before endeavoring to locate the historical homes of

[1] The reader will find this fully treated in Schliemann's "Ilios" and "Troja." We will speak of it in detail when we come to speak of the Greeks.

the several families of the Aryan race, we must familiarize ourselves with the geography of Europe, for we shall find that the stage of Aryan life and civilization has been principally upon European soil. From the accompanying map, we will see that Southern Europe is a series of peninsulas, projecting southward into the Mediterranean. Three of these peninsulas are more prominent than the rest. They are Greece, Italy, and Spain. The first was known to the



Map of Aryan Europe.

ancients as Hellas, the second as Italia, and the third as Hispania, or sometimes Iberia. The Black Sea was known as the Euxine. Between Hellas and the coast of Asia Minor, was the Aegæan Sea. The Hadriatic (or Adriatic) was the same as at present, while the western coast of Italy bore the name of Tyrrhenian sea from the Greek name for the Etruscans.

North of Hellas were Macedonia and Epiros, Thrace

and Illyria, ranging in pairs. The latter pair was separated from the northern land by the Balkan mountains. The Alps formed, then as now, the northern semi-circular boundary of the head of the Italian penisula. North of these two mountain ranges was the home land of the numerous German tribes, and north of Hispania was the country which Caesar called Gaul. Roman Britain corresponded pretty well to modern England. Wherever we have occasion to mention the great rivers of Europe, such as the Rhine, Rhone, Danube, Elbe, Vistula, Volga, Don, Dneiper, and Ural, we will use the modern names for them.

In a general sense, we may describe the location of the principal Aryan groups at the dawn of history as follows: The Mediterranean basin, including its great lake, the Black Sea, was the theater of action for the Greco-Latins. The Rhine and Vistula rivers naturally divide Central Europe into three great regions, roughly corresponding to the other three great divisions of the Aryans. The Rhine, in ancient times, formed the dividing line between the Celt and the Teuton, while the Vistula, in more modern times, separated the Teuton from his Slavic kinsman. In very ancient times, however, it is supposed that the Germans were confined to the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, but they afterwards crowded farther east.

Of course there must have been a time once, when there were no well marked divisions among the Aryans. We have also seen that there was once a time when Europe was in the firm posession of Turanian people. If, then, we were permitted to glance down the long vistas of time, we finally come to a period when the Aryans, as such, can first be distinguished. That time was long before historic

eras. The glaciers had come and gone; the Neolithic Age, had come with its unnumbered hosts of Turanian people, who, after populating these fair lands for unknown ages, were now passing away before the superior culture of the advancing Aryans. The Bronze Age was fast approaching



Lithuanian Forest.

its culmination. The physical features of the country were much the same as now, but nature was permitted to hold wild and universal dominion over almost the entire land.

Man had not yet learned to hew down the forest trees and to drain the marsh tracts. The steppes of Russia were the pasture lands for innumerable flocks and herds. The forests of the north, and the marshes of the lake regions were the homes of the buffalo, the bear, and the boar, and were still inhabited by fierce Turanian tribes. We know but little about the Aryan population there until long after historic times.

As time passed and migrations went forward, the primitive Aryans split up into the great divisions we have roughly outlined. In the forest or marshy region, just described, were located the Slaves or Sarmatian people. Ancient Germania, with its great Hercynian forest and Teutoberger wald, so fatal to Varus and his legions, was the home of all Teutonic nations. It was a country generally bristling with forests, or reeking with swamps.[1] There were river valleys, however, that yielded rich harvests of grain, and every tribe had its flocks and herds. The men were hunters and warriors. Their homes were the forests where they concealed their straw-thached huts, or in whose secret depths they waited the approach of their foes.

The Rhine formed a natural barrier between the Teutons and the Celts, and its shores were their common fighting ground. The latter floated their small crafts down the Rhone, and occupied the valleys and passes of the Pyrenees. They pastured their flocks and gallopped their horses through the valleys of France. They snatched the forests of Britian and the bogs of Ireland from the aborigines, and they swept down the valley of the Po on their plundering expeditions. Though they had fixed habita-

1 Tacitus: "Germania," Chap. v.

ns, they were the most unsettled and warlike of the cient Aryans, and would desert their homes on the ghtest provocation to wander about in search of new es.[1]



Celtic Warriors.

As we propose in this chapter to learn all we can bout the primitive Aryans, it will be well to understand hat historians are wont to imagine a time when the ncestors of these varied and widely separated peoples all welt together in some peculiarly favored land. Pictures f this primeval Aryan home have been painted in the

[1] Caesar: "Gallic War," Book viii. chapter 26.

most glowing colors that language can furnish, and one needs wonder why some of the ruder tribes of antiquity should have so fallen from the state of culture that the primitive Aryans are represented as attaining. Let us remember, therefore, that, when we study of the primitive Aryans, we are but passing through the shadowy lands of legend and myth, and that many of the pen pictures that we find are almost purely imaginary. Linguistic history tells us all that we know of the primitive Aryans in their primeval home. We can rely upon it, and upon it only. It tells us that all these nations had a common origin and, therefore, a common ancestry. This would necessitate their coming from a common country; but, as to where that country was, language tells us nothing.[1]

Now, in a word or two, we can explain how we gain our information of the life, habits, and degree of culture that the primitive Aryans had attained before any of their descendants had left their home-land. By comparing the Aryan dialects, we find that they have identical words (observing the vowel and consonant changes according to Grimm's law) for father, mother, brother, and sister; and, in fact, they had the same endearing terms to express almost all of our family relations. So we are sure that the Aryan home in all its purity existed in those prehistoric times. So, likewise, we learn that they had their household gods, the spirits of departed ancestors. They must have had all the beliefs accompanying such a worship. They had advanced to the stage of worshiping the great nature fetiches. The clouds, the lightning, the sun, moon and stars, in fact, anything in nature phenomenal, startling, or inexplainable, may have been personified and worshiped.

[1] Whitney: Am. Cyclopedia.

A similar system of tribal government was common to all of them. They had their herds of domestic animals, and understood the cultivation of some of the cereals. They dwelt in villages and in thatched huts. These villages are said to have been joined by roads, probably similar to the Indian trails so common among the aboriginal Americans. Over these paths, the primitive peddler may have borne his pack of foreign wares to exchange for native produce. The common word for sea would tend to locate the primitive home near some large body of water on which they rowed their skiffs. Words for the oyster and pearl were common to them all. So, likewise, we know that they dwelt in a land where snow and ice were common, and where the birch and fir trees grew; but we find no indications of Oriental luxury and enervating climate. As the primitive Aryans were but slightly acquainted with metals, they could have possessed only the rude weapons common to the closing stages of the Neolithic Age.

Thus much does language teach us of a primitive Aryan people, before they commenced their migrations. If we try to penetrate further into the past, language refuses to be our guide. It will tell us nothing by which we can locate their primeval home on the map. When we try to follow the route of any Aryan people back to the land from which they came, language is silent and will not cast a ray of light upon these long forgotten paths. If we attempt to approximate a date at which the dispersion took place, we find that language furnishes us no reliable data to build upon, after we ascend into the realms of prehistoric times. We can only conclude, then, that all the highly colored pictures of primitive Aryan life owe more to the imagination of the artist than to the information drawn from language.

Some of these pictures are falsely drawn by allowing some of the historical Aryan people to sit as models, though they must be clothed in their most primitive historical garments. One will describe the primitive Greek, another the Latin, and a third the Hindoo, as a typical primitive Aryan. This is wrong and gives us erroneous ideas of that primeval land and people. We shall, therefore, not follow this method. We shall take each of the more primitive of the Aryan families and try to form an idea of their mode of life when they first appear in history. In doing so, we shall use only legitimate sources of information such as language, ethnology, archaeology, and, perhaps here and there, draw some imformation from legends wherever there appears to be a thread of historical light to guide us.

But, first of all, let us institute a search for the primitive home land of the Aryans of which so much has been written. None of the Aryan traditions afford us any light. Our scholars are not agreed on this point, and, as a consequence, we have several hypotheses to choose from. As an aid in this matter, let us study the historical migrations of the various branches. The general directions, in which the movements have taken place, may give us some useful hints; if we can trace two or more lines back to an intersection, we may come upon this much sought for country. We will, therefore, begin with the purely historical movements of these people, and journey backward into the labyrinth of their past wanderings as far as we can find a thread of light to guide us.

For our purpose, it is not necessary to notice all the modern or historical movements of the Aryans. There are two kinds of migrating movements. Ordinarily the migration of races is a very slow process. It may be

ikened to a gradual spread of species from some center of lispersion. It results in a mixture of races. The stronger race will predominate and, almost always, give its language and culture to the weaker people, who become, in fact, serfs or slaves. This will account for the mixed ethnical character of all the people of Europe. In fact, there are no pure races anywhere. Another form of migration was, however, quite common among people in tribal life. When a territory became so densely populated that the land was unable to support its population, it was not uncommon for a vast horde, perhaps several tribes, to start on a long journey in search of new homes. In this case, they took with them their wives and children, their flocks and herds, and all their movables. It took the form of a great military expedition, and sometimes they journeyed a long distance before they reached a land enticing enough to hold them. If they found a desirable locality, before effecting a permanent settlement, they had to conquer the tribes already in possession of the country. Such a result was as sure to lead to a mixture of people as the first one.

Shortly after the Christian Era we find the legions of Rome strongly guarding that portion of their empire bordering on Germania. For some centuries, they thus held back the ever swelling flood of Germanic people. But the time at length came when Imperial Rome could no longer protect her frontiers, and the great streams of Gothic people forded the rivers and poured over the mountains upon the lands of the Roman, Greek, and Celt.[1] This great migration of Teutonic people occurred during the fourth and fifth centuries, and resulted, as we shall see later, in the destruction of the Western Empire of Rome.

[1] Freeman, Op. cit. p. 87 *et seq.*

It was also the first step toward the origin of modern nations. At present, however, we are concerned only with the general direction of this great movement of Aryan people. The Germans crossed the Danube, the Alps, and the Rhine, and, journeying to the south and west, secured there new homes. It required less than two centuries for them to establish their power over all of Western Europe and even to conquer the opposite coast of Africa.

Passing rapidly along toward ancient times, we find the Celts at the height of their power during the third and fourth centuries B. C. During those two centuries, we find that they are continually pouring through the passes of the Alps, down into the valley of the Po, and threatening to deluge Rome herself. Near the beginning of the third century,[1] we detect a great movement of Celts to the south and east. Stopping on their journey for a season or two, they gathered the wealth and plundered the inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia. Then they moved onward, crossed the Hellespont, and, finally, were induced to settle in Asia Minor. There they have dwelt ever since, having founded the province of Galatia. They were preceded by another army of Celts who burned Rome in 390 B. C., and thence turned toward the east, settling in Thrace.

This is about as far as we have historic light for the movements of Aryan people in Western Europe. But, as we shall see in a following chapter, the probabilities are, that the ancestors of the Aryan population of Central Italy were Celts. Let us notice that all the movements of the ancient population of Italy were toward the south.

[1] Some identify these Gauls with the army that burned Rome in 390 B. C. Others claim that it was a later movement, 280 B. C.

As if yielding to an irresistible pressure of Celtic tribes from the north, the Sicles entered Sicily; the Ligurians passed down the Adriatic coast, and the Latins also came from the north. Let us now consider Aryan movements in South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. It is distinctly stated by Herodotus[1] that Darius, the great Persian king, planned his expedition into Europe to avenge the Medes and Persians for the wrongs that they had suffered from the invasion of certain Cimmerians during the seventh or eighth century B. C. Some historians claim that these Cimmerians were Celts, and some think that they were Teutons. The latter are, no doubt, right.[2] These Teutonic tribes are said to have crossed into Asia through the passes of the Caucasian mountains,[3] and, in fact, Cimmerian invasions from Europe into Asia, by way of both the Bosporus and the Caucasus, were not uncommon occurrences. Many of the Scythic tribes of Herodotus are now known to have been Aryans,[4] though the particular group to which they belong has only since become extinct.[5] Sometimes the Cimmerians made passes over the mountains; sometimes they allied themselves with their near kinsmen, the Thracians, and invaded Asia both by land and by water, all along the line between the Aegean and Caspian Seas.[6] We have all evidence that these Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and the Thracians, but especially the former, formed a numerous and warlike

[1] Book iv. chap. 1.

[2] Am. Cyclopædia articles "Cimbri" and "Cimmerians."

[3] See Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 11. note 4, also p. 281. Sayce: "Herodotus," Book i. chap. 14. note 1, and chap. 15. note 4. London, 1883; thinks that Herodotus is wrong in assigning the invasion of the Cimmerians to the reign of the Lydian chief, Ardis, for Assyrian inscriptions fix it in the reign of Gyges, 687-653 B. C.

[4] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 288. [5] Ibid. p. 286.

[6] Strabo, Book i. Chap. 3, section 21.

people. Strabo says that they "were once sovereigns of the Bosporus,"[1] and, again,[2] that, after Trojan times, their invasions, together with other people mentioned, "threw everything into confusion." To some of these invasions, a much higher antiquity is given. Eusebius mentions one as occurring as early as the eleventh century B. C.[3] Though Herodotus does not mention this particular incursion, he does regard the Cimmerians of sufficient importance to give their name to a portion of the Bosporus. He mentions, besides, Cimmerian castles and a Cimmerian ferry.[4]

If we can at all depend upon the accounts of these ancient historians, Cimmerian and Thracian Aryans were for several centuries a terror to the most enlightened portions of Asia Minor.[5] Right here, it may not be inappropriate to remark, that, were we to seek for the origin of those Aryan characteristics and racial qualities, peculiar to the Alarodians of Caucasia,[6] we would find that these various incursions of Thracians and Cimmerians could point to the source of this Aryan influence, and explain the origin of this branch of the White Race. Then, if the Hittites were akin to the Alarodians, as some authors believe, we at once detect a possible source of that more than Turanian energy with which they ruled Asia Minor. Here, notice in particular, that for many centuries preceding the fourth century B. C., Germanic tribes were constantly threatening Asia Minor from the north by way of Caucasia and the Hellespont. No doubt from time to time, they effected a lodgment in that country. We have had occasion to mention the fact, that, as early as the

[1] Book vii. Chap. 4, section 3.
[2] Book xiii. Chap. 8, section 7.
[3] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I. p. 290.
[4] Book iv. Chap. 12.
[5] See This Series Vol. II. p. 798.
[6] Ibid. p. 400 *et seq.*

:e of the eighth century B. C., they had established selves at Sinope, on the southern shore of the ĸ Sea.[1]

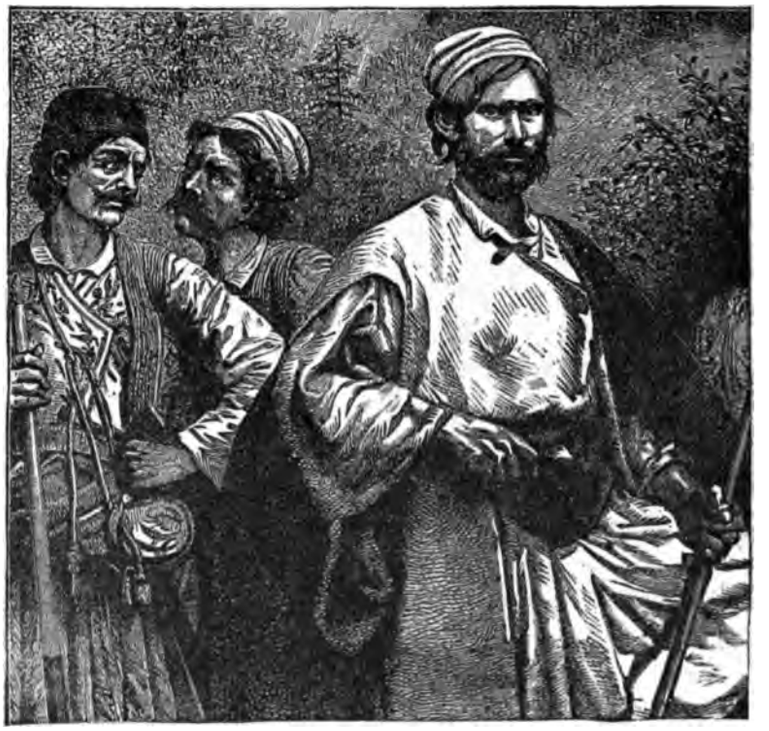


Group of Caucasians.

At an earlier date still, there was the Dorian migra- n into the Peloponnesus, when great tribes of Dorians, a ecian people, came down from the north (Twelfth Cen- y B. C.) and drove large numbers of Ionians, and Aeo- ns across the Aegaean into the coasts of Asia and the

[1] Ibid. p. 788.

Isles of the sea, only to follow them at a later date. As we shall see in a following chapter, this movement was caused by the pressure of tribes from the north; the Epirots encroaching upon the Thessalians, and these in turn pressing upon the Boeotians, and there is no doubt, but the Teutons were at the same time coming down the Danube and crossing the Balkan mountains to take the place of the people whom they crowded forward.



Greek Brigands.

If the storied siege of Troy by the allied Greeks bear any meaning to the historian, it is, that there was an ever southward pressure of Grecian tribes that finally poured an enormous migration upon the coasts of Asia Minor. The result of this migration was the destruction of Ilios and

the ravaging of all the towns along the northern coast. The conquerors of Troy probably took immediate possession of the adjoining territory where the most of them settled. The wanderers that may have turned back toward their fatherland were but few compared with the hosts that first set out upon these adventures. The poet makes Achilles boast of having stormed and conquered a number of cities before force enough had assembled upon the plains of Troy to attack the principal Trojan stronghold. Here, too, we must note the constant tendency of the Aryans to spread toward the south and east.

At an extremely early date, the Thracians were a great and widespread people. Herodotus[1] says that they were the most numerous of all people except the Indians. In fact, their importance was so noticeable that some ancient writers "divide the world into Asia, Libya (Africa), Europe, and Thrace".[2] They were blue-eyed and red-haired—"a most martial and highly musical people, much given to Bacchic habits, but also to philosophical speculation."[3] All historical evidence points to the fact, that they were the ancestors of the Mysians and the Phrygians, the latter of whom were the acknowledged ancestors of the Trojans.[4] The Thracians are themselves said to be of Germanic origin.[5] All these people, then, were Aryans. The ancestors of the Phrygians must have migrated from Europe into Asia, for it is an admitted fact that none of the Aryans west of the Halys river could have entered Asia Minor in any other way.[6]

When we come to assign a date to the migrations that

1 Book vii. Chapter 73.
2 Karl Blind in "Troja" p. 358.
3 Ibid. p. 359.
4 Strabo, vii. chapter 3, sec. 12.
5 Blind, Op. cit. p. 354.
6 Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p. 211-12.

ɔught the ancestors of the Phrygians across the He
ɪnt, the "research of the spade" at Troy has enable
"penetrate into a past, of which German tradition
ɔrgotten the very existence".[1] At the beginning of
welfth century B. C.,[2] the great city of Troy was flour
ɪng in all the splendor of Oriental grandeur. For
before this time, the Babylonian caravan had made its
across the country and brought wares to the Mediterra
sea-board. The Hittite merchant was, no doubt, a com
sight on the streets of Ilios. In the thirteenth cent
the historical inscriptions of Rameses III. tell us of G
and Trojan allies among the foes of Egypt.[3] When
Libyans made war upon Menephthah,[4] in the fourtee
century, the Trojans united their forces with the enem
their old Egyptian foe. When the Hittites made war u
the great Pharioh, Rameses II. in the fourteenth cent
the Dardanian Trojans had already identified themse
with the enemies of Egypt and joined the Hittite ex
tion.[5] This foreign Greek and Trojan element amon
enemies of Egypt is mentioned on the monuments
before the epoch of the eighteenth dynasty or abo
close of the eighteenth century B. C.[6]

Thus in our search for the first appearance of th
gian Aryans in Asia Minor, we must go back of t
of Troy. We must pass over the reigns of the ni
and eighteenth Egyptian dynasties. Still we find
Aryans are sought as allies by Asiatic powers.
of the Neolithic Age had not set on the shores of
iterranean, when the Aryans first erected a citad

[1] Sayce: Preface to "Troja," p. ix.
[2] Troy was destroyed about 1180 B. C.
[3] Brugsch, "Ilios," Appendix ix. p. 748.
[4] See our remarks on this subject "This Series" Vol. I
[5] Ibid. p. 394. [6] Brugsch, Op. cit. p. 746.

sarlik, the site of Troy.[1] Do we try to go back farther, we are lost in the gloom of antiquity. Still the Phrygian, ancestors of the Trojans, must have crossed the Hellespont at a much earlier date. To what a remote age does this point, and yet, how plainly are we told, that even then the German tribes were pressing down upon the Thracians who in turn were forced to cross into Asia and there find homes. Of a truth, these Aryans must have been in Southern Europe at a very early date in the history of mankind.

It will be noticed that none of the movements we have been considering are those of the Slavonian Aryans. Where were they during this long period of time? While the Celts, the Grecians, and various Germanic people were making these great migrations, apparently radiating from Central Europe, were the Slaves living in contented quietness? Or were they also sending out great immigrating bands, and winning for themselves new homes by foreign conquests? Let us see what the probabilities are.

The first historical appearance of the Slaves was not until the sixth century of our era. They were at that time situated in Central Russia. The increasing pressure of Turanian tribes, sallying out of the wilds of Siberia, impelled the Slaves toward the west and south. They crossed the Danube river and the Balkan mountains, and settled in Thrace and Macedonia. How long a time, now, before the sixth century, had the Slaves been living in Central Russia? The probabilities are, from that same primitive long-ago, when the Phrygian Aryans crossed the Hellespont and intrenched themselves on Hissarlik, at Troy.

[1] Sayce, Op. cit. p. xii.

Scholars who have studied this question assure us, that, from the very earliest times, the Slaves were confronting the Germans on the east, and, in fact, were slowly pressed east by them. Sayce calls our attention to the significant fact, that both the capitals of modern Germany, Berlin and Vienna, stand on ground that was once Slavonic.[1] Latham declares there was once a time when Slavic dialects were common everywhere between the Elbe and the Dnieper rivers.[2] Quatrefages tells us that the Germanic race clashed with the Slaves in the basin of the Oder. His conclusion is: "The Slaves settled on the Vistula at a pre-historic period and possessed its entire basin."[3] In fact, everything seems to point to the conclusion that, at the same early date at which the first great divisions of the Aryans appeared in Europe, the Slaves were located in Russia, and for unknown centuries they wandered back and forth on its grassy steppes. Unless they differed from the other Aryans, they must have also sent forth from time to time great bands of migrating people. Where could these bands go? To the west and south-west were numerous Germanic people, of all Aryans the most energetic, who as just stated, instead of yielding before the Slaves, gradually forced them east from the Elbe. To the south, were the numerous and warlike Thracians, Cimmerians, and Scythians, preventing any movements in that direction. One course only was open to them. Passing to the north of the Caspian Sea they could easily invade Asia, and possess themselves of the territory contiguous to the Caspian. Let us, then, turn to Asia and see what traces we can find of Aryan people in that

1 "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94.
2 "Man and his Migrations," p. 180.
3 "Prussian Race," London, 1872, p. 12.

great continent, and the directions of their movments.

Asia has always been preeminently the home of the Yellow Races, as Europe has been of the Aryans. We have seen in Western Asia, that the Semites gained possession of the country and have seen that supremacy passing into the hands of the Aryans; yet time has brought around the first conditions again, and once more a Turanian people are rulers in that section. Comparatively speaking, but a small part of Asia was ever in the hands of the Aryans. In historical times, we find them in possession of Northern India, Persia, Armenia, the Bactrian country, and the adjacent mountains. It is further true that we find traces of Aryan blood in Southeastern Asia where we had least expected to find them. Only in very recent times are conditions changing, and Aryan culture and influence are on the increase.

Let us refer first of all to traces of Aryan influence in Eastern and Southeastern Asia. In Treating of China, we made mention of the Chows, as an invading and conquering people, who appeared on the confines of China about the twelfth century B. C. It is stated, on excellent authority, that these Chows were, in part, Aryans.[1] But at a far earlier time, other invading people had passed east through the Gates of Kashgar and overrun portions of China. It is supposed that these people, the Jungs, were also, in part, of Aryan blood.[2] It is further supposed that the so-called aboriginal tribes of China are quite large descendants of these partially Aryanized people.[3]

[1] Kingmill in J. R. A. S., 1878, p. 301. De La Cou
the Shans," preface, p. xxxix.

[2] See De La Couperie, J. R. A. S. 1885, p. 467. K
"Asia," p. 713.

[3] See "This Series," Vol. II. p. 439, where this
and cuts are given.

We have also learned of the wide extension of white blood in South-eastern Asia. We can not say that the source of this element in the ethnology of this far away people was Aryan, and yet, to our mind, this presents the



The Ainos.

easiest solution. These Aryan tribes, who thus wandered far to the Orient, became, in time, so hoplessly mixed with the surrounding people that they lost their distinctive race qualities. It is, for instance, only of late years, that we

have recognized in the Ainos of Japan a white people.[1] They probably come the nearest to proving an exception to the remark, that there are no "White Savages." We are only acquainted with them in modern times, when they have long been ground under the cruel dominion of the Japanese. They are now rapidly approaching extinction. Once the sole inhabitants of the chain of islands extending south of Kamtchatka and including the Japanese islands, they have been compelled to retire before a more civilized people, coming, some from the mainland, others, perhaps, from the islands of Polynesia.

It seems, also, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Corea belonged to the white stock.[2] They were gradually outnumbered and absorbed by the yellow stock, owing to the constant migration from the Chinese province of Pechilli. The typical features of the whites—oval features, light complexion, blue eyes, etc.—are plainly discernible in some instances. It is said: "But for the speech and costume one might often fancy one self surrounded by Europeans."[3]

In regard to the further extension of this eastern branch of the White Race, it is well to bear in mind that we are speaking of a subject which is as yet far from being a settled one. However, modern research seems to establish the fact, that, within comparatively recent times, they spread themselves very extensively over the Islands of Polynesia—in fact, that the present inhabitants of Polynesia are, at the base, a White Race. Where the older writers speak of the *Malayo-Polynesian* people, we have to change

[1] See Flowers in "Nature," Vol. 31. p. 364; Keane in "Nature," Vol. 27. p. 365, 389: Keane in Standford's "Asia," p. 712. Qualifying the above, see Recluse: "Earth and its Inhabitants," Vol. II. of "Asia," p. 389.

[2] Keane in "Nature" Vol. 26. p. 345.

[3] Recluse: "Earth and Its Inhabitants," "Asia," Vol. II. p. 345.

the expression considerably. The Malays are, in reality, a much mixed people, in which white, black and mixed elements are found.[1]

This more or less mixed White Race peopled the islands of Polynesia from the west. This question has been very carefully studied by such men as Wilks, Quatrefages,

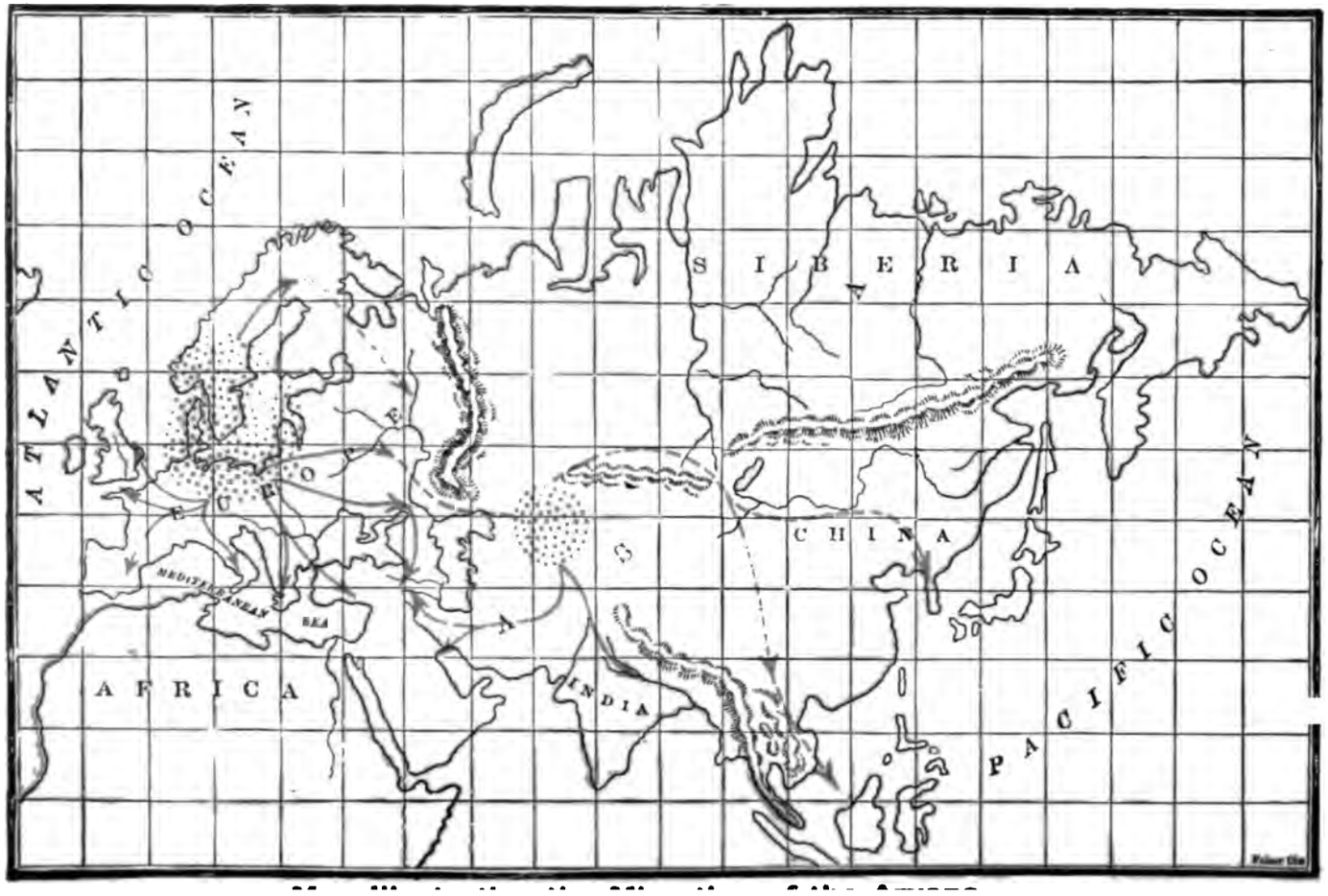


Coreans.

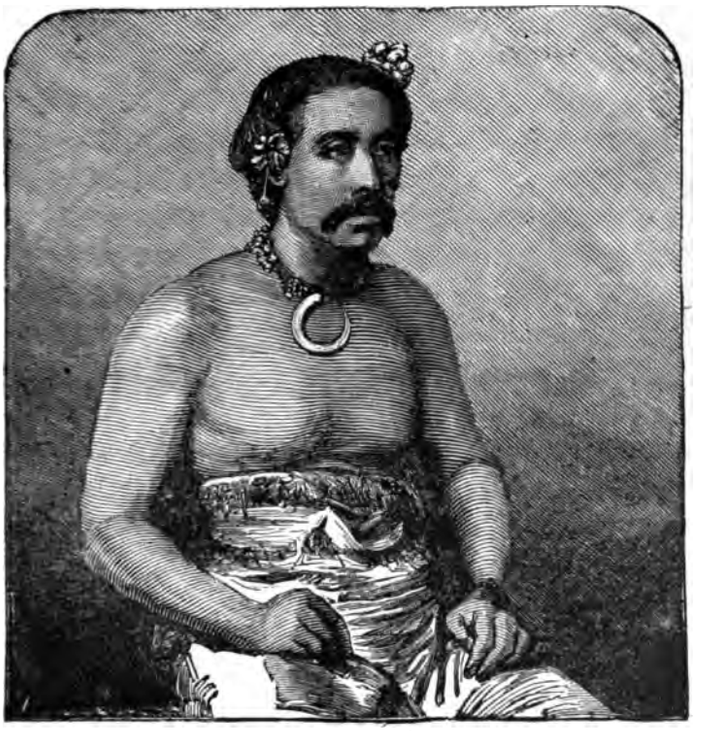
Mariner and others. It is even possible to sketch the successive migrations which carried the colonists to the various islands. To determine this, information has been sought from many sources. The historical songs and traditions of the natives have been collected and studied, the

1 Quatrefages: "Human Species," p. 433. Keane in "Nature," Vol. 23, p. 251.


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INDIA

nguages have been compared, and all points bearing on ıe ethnology of the people have been examined. The sland of Boeroe, between Celebes and Ceram, is usually nsidered the starting point. In fact, all recent authoties are agreed on this point. It remains only to point ıt how all explorers have praised the fine personal appea-



Polynesian Chief.

nce of the true Polynesian Islanders. They are invariably escribed as being possessed of fine symmetrical proportions, ıll in stature, and with handsome, regular features. Their air is smooth but not lank, often curly and wavy, and the eard is naturally full, though often artifically removed. 'hey are furthermore declared to be of a cheerful and yous temperament, of a frank and truthful disposition,

and of a kindly nature. All this forms a type distinct from the typical Yellow Races of Asia.

As we have remarked, we have no assurance that the Aryans were the source of this white element. Yet we must notice that, from an extremely early time, we have evidence of Aryan tribes marching east through the Gates



Cambodian.

of Kashgar to debouch on the plains of China. We have seen these tribes steadily pressed to the south by fresh migrations of Mongolian people in China. It is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that the white element in Cambodia was derived from that source. At a later time, we see the Polynesians starting from the islands near

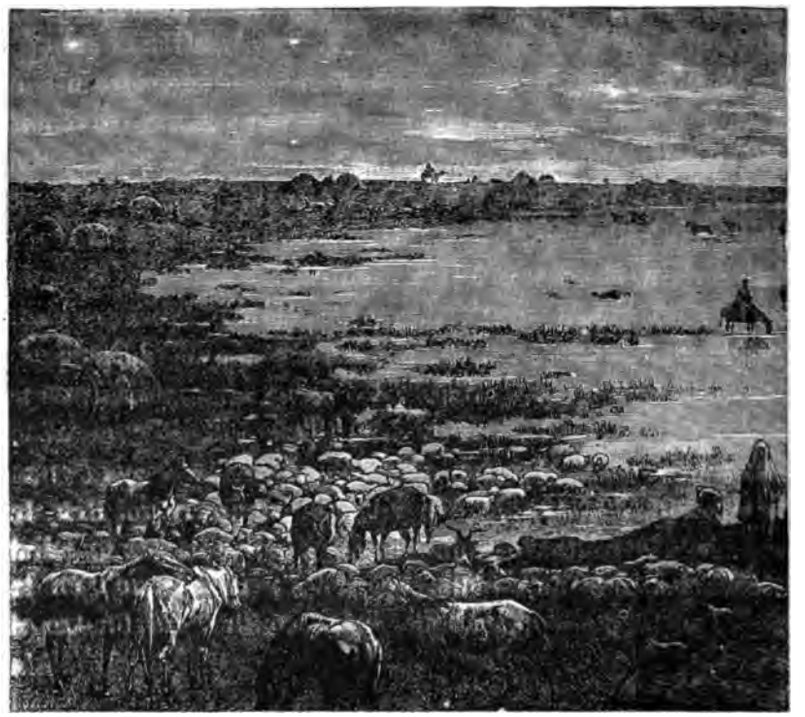
he coast of Farther India, setting out on their great migrations that finally peopled the Islands of the Pacific. This migration being so recent in time that we can gather he details of it from native songs and traditions.

Turning to the movements of the Aryans in Western Asia, we find that they played quite an important role in history. They fall mostly into two great divisions, the Indians and the Iranians, and of the latter the Persians rom the greater part. We know that, at an early date, the Persians branched off from the Indians who were then welling in and about the Hindoo Koosh mountains somewhat to the north and east of historical Persia. The Aryan ancestors of the Indians first journeyed through he passes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains,[1] and took possession of the Punjab, or the north-western portion of nodern India. Thence, they followed the river courses to he south and east. While Aryan blood does not form a narked characteristic of the southern Hindoo, the northrn part of modern Hindoostan is decidedly Aryan; and Aryan culture, language, and influence have penetrated to he remotest shores of the peninsula. The date at which he first Indian tribes entered India will, perhaps, never e known. This much is true, however, that they were a people separated from their kindred before their literature, known as the Vedic literature, began to crystallize into its historical shape. The Persians had a literature of their own, but it was a later formation. As some of the Vedic hymns relate to about the fifteenth century B. C., we are safe in inferring that the Vedic Age extended back at least as early as that date.[2]

[1] Thomas in J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 378-86.

[2] Muller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 210, 147, New York, 881. There is also good authority for saying, that the Indians separated

Now the Persians or Iranians were a colony of Indians that separated from the latter, while they were encamped at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh.[1] This separation must necessarily have taken place at an earlier date. The Persians, turning toward the south and west, must have driven out and occupied the homes of a more primitive



Aryan Encampment on the Shores of the Caspian.

people. The earliest traditions of the Indians and Iranians point to a home on the source of the Oxus and Jax-

themselves from the Iranians in the Bactrian land, the former journeying toward the Punjab. The period of the separation is often placed at 2000 B. C., or some time previous to that date. See Whitney: "American Cyclopedia," Vol I. p. 800, also Duncker: "History of Antiquity," Vol. IV. p. 27, (English Edition).

[1] Muller, Op. cit. p. 248.

artes.[1] Here they dwelt before they crossed the Hindoo Koosh.[2] This takes us back to a very remote period, many centuries before our era. For Muller tells us that "along the Caspian, and in the country washed by the Oxus and Jaxartes, Aryan and non-Aryan tribes were mingled together for centuries."[3] It will thus be seen, that, as far as the movements of the Aryans in Asia can be traced back, they seem to converge toward the territory to the east of the Caspian. Can it possibly be, that there is any connection between these Aryans and the Slavonians? To-day we know it to be a fact, that Russian influence is spreading far and wide in Asia. Can it be, that such has been the course of history ever since the Slaves found themselves cramped for room in Russia? When the German tribes pressed the Slaves to the east of the Elbe, did they discharge themselves upon Asia? Can it be, that, whereas we find the Russian and the English (a Slavic and a Germanic people) confronting each other in almost hostile array in Asia, we are but witnessing the final moves in that great inter-racial game begun ages before the dawn of history, in the valley of the Elbe in Germany, from which narrow field the Germans moved to the West, the Slaves to the East, and are now met for the final test of strength in mid-Asia?

This would, indeed, be a reasonable theory if we could find any satisfactory ground for concluding that the Iranians and Indians were more closely related to the Slavonians than to the other members of the Aryan family. Language certainly seems to afford some help in this matter. We have already mentioned, that Sanskrit was the original tongue of the Indians and Iranians. Now,

1 Ibid. p. 239. 2 J. R. A. S. 1883.
3 "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 243.

almost all scholars unite in establishing the close relationship between the Letto-Slavic dialects of the Letts, on the shores of the Baltic, and the Sanskrit. They almost universally claim for the former a nearer relationship than can be ascribed to any other of the Aryan languages.[1] It is further pointed out, that the Scyths and Sarmatians, who dwelt on the plains of Russia in ancient times, used a dialect that had many points in common with the Iranian dialect.[2] One curious bit of proof is pointed out by Mr. Morgan. It seems that the Slavonian people in Europe have certain peculiarities in their system of relationship not met with in any other of the European Aryans, but they do re-appear in the tribes of India.[3] Thus we find considerable to induce us to believe that the Iranians and Indians of Asia are more closely connected with the Slavic Aryans of Europe than with the remaining Aryans. In fact, this is admitted by all scholars of note.

Now Asia, from the earliest times, was the home of the Yellow Races. If the Slaves were confined in Russia until they gathered strength to sweep all before them, their invasion of Asia must have resulted in a great disturbance. Now we have seen, that, about the twenty third century B. C., there was a very great disturbance among the people in Western Asia, and, strange to say, the lines of these movements seem to diverge from the Caspian basin. Then it was, that Turanian tribes, marching east through the Gates of Kashgar, followed the course of the Hoangho and laid the foundation of Chinese culture.[4] It was at this time,

[1] Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94. Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 215. Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 610. Freeman: "Historical Geography of Europe," p. 15, London, 1881.

[2] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 396.

[3] "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity," p. 43.

[4] This Series Vol. II. p. 424 *et seq.*

also, that the Elamite tribes suddenly invaded Mesopotamia and conquered Chaldea.[1] Then it was, that Asshur went out from Accad and laid the foundation of Assyria, and at that time, also, the Hebrew people took up their line of march from the head of the Persian Gulf to the West. And, as already pointed out, the waves of migration carried the Hyksos kings into Egypt.

When we reflect, that the date of these movements corresponds remarkably well with the presumed first appearance of the Aryans in Asia, and when we observe further, that these movements are just such as we would expect to follow from the sudden appearance of a great host of Aryans forcing their way among thickly settled Turanian tribes: it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion, that it was at this time (2300 B. C.) that the Slavonian Aryans bore all before them, and marched, a resistless host, from Russia, by way of the northern shore of the Caspian, into Asia.

As a result of our examination into the movements of Aryan people, as far as known in history, we conclude that the lines of these movements converge in the territory around the Baltic in Europe. Here seems to have been the point from which they marched, some to the west, others to the south, still others to the east; and, as we have seen, Europe was not the only field of their activity. Indeed this seems to have always been their center of dispersion, not only of prehistoric times, but of historic times, and is true of today. We are therefore prepared to believe that the original home of the Aryan Race was that portion of Europe immediately adjacent to the Baltic sea.

Yet, when we turn to examine the writings of our

[1] Ibid.

scholars on this point, we are surprised to find that this is not the generally accepted view. They speak and write of the Aryans as originating in Asia. They picture forth a series of migrations by which they came into the possession of Europe. Our surprise is somewhat abated when we discover that it is only the older writers who are nearly unanimous in favor of the Asiatic Origin. Of late years, the tide seems to be setting just as strongly the other way. As this question is, for our purpose, a very important one, let us see what our scholars have to say on this point. Many suppose that Philology has fully settled this question. Let us first examine this point. The classical or literary language of the Indians is called Sanskrit. This, together with Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Celtic, and Letto-Slavic, forms a great sisterhood of languages that was, at some time in the past, derived from a single more primitive form of speech, that was probably used by our primitive forefathers in their primeval home. This lost and forgotten tongue is spoken of as the primitive Aryan language, and many attempts have been made to reconstruct it.

Scholars are divided as to which known dialect comes nearest to this primitive tongue. Some regard the Letto-Slavic dialects as the nearest co-geners of the typical language, while others claim that place of honor for the Sanskritic. On this claim alone, some philologists wish to locate the home of the primeval Aryan tribe as near as they can to the region where the Sanskrit was first found to be in use. But as further study proves that all the people who use Sanskrit dialects have moved from some unknown place to their present abodes, they have further to decide on some suitable place for the common starting point. They have, therefore, settled upon an indefinite point in Central Asia, somewhere near the the shores of

the Caspian Sea. The only ground for this choice being, that such a location is near the Sanskrit speaking people. The claims of the Letto-Slavic dialects to a closer relationship to the primitive tongue than any other[1] being utterly ignored.

In regard to physical surroundings, the choice is not a very happy one. This region has been, from the very dawn of history, totally unsuitable for the production and support of such a hardy, energetic, and vigorous race as the Aryans. If the Trans-Caspian territory and the lands along the Oxus and Jaxartes were the primitive home of the Aryans, we must needs transform it from a barren table land and sandy desert waste to fertile fields, and cover it with cereals and meadows, suitable for the maintenance of men and animals indigenous to temperate lands.[2]

But let us inquire more particularly into this argument of language. All must admit that the results of comparative philology, if rightly understood and applied, are a great help in tracing the early history and culture of a people. Yet it is not an infallible guide, and we must take into consideration other sciences, such as Anthropology and Ethnology. Of late years, there is a tendency to question some of the conclusions so confidently urged by philologists.[3] But those who appeal to Caesar must stand by Caesar's judgment. We have seen that good grounds exist for claiming that the Letto-Slaves are nearer the original Aryans in speech than any other, why not, then, seek

[1] On this point consult Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 610. Whitney: "Study of Language," p. 215. Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 15. Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 94.

[2] Vambery: "Travels in Central Asia."

[3] See the whole subject discussed in "Anthropological Review," 1869, p. 169.

for the home in their neighborhood? But this is not all. Such an eminent philologist as Professor Whitney shows that "language does not at all prove that the Indo-Persian common abode is nearest to the original abode of the family."[1]

Closely examined, the Asiatic theory comes to some startling conclusions. It is universally admitted that the Asiatic Aryans (we include under this term all the Aryans in Asia east of the Halys river) are only immigrants in the regions which they have occupied since historical times began. It is supposed that the primeval tribe of Aryans, from whose loins the entire race has sprung, dwelt close by the side of the modern homes of these Asiatic Aryans. From this small band, we are told that all the various European families hived off, swarm after swarm, and, as by a bee-line, journeyed toward their European homes. Should we sound the roll-call, and pass in review the innumerable tribes of Aryans who have been known to history—the hosts of Celts that covered the mountains and plains of the Southwest; the armies of the Teutons of the central lands; the hordes of untrained Scythians and Thracians; the more cultivated Greeks and Romans; and the Slaves of later times—the whole of Europe would not be a field of sufficient size for us to muster this enormous army upon.

When, therefore, we are asked to believe, that all of these people are the descendants of a small primitive band that resided near the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and that one great army after another of emigrants left this primitive home and journeyed toward the shores of the Atlantic; when we consider, besides, that each and

[1] Am Cyclopedia.

every one of the various and several branches of this great family must have journeyed at least two thousand miles before coming to a halt; when we further consider, that not one of these many armies along this whole distance dropped one single memento by which modern researchers have been able to point out the way by which they reached the continent of Europe: when we consider these and many other obstacles that oppose themselves to the Asiatic theory, we can readily believe that it is not even probable, that such great armies of people could have left Central Asia since the close of the Neolithic Age, and penetrated to the heart of Europe without causing such a commotion in the affairs of ancient people that some slight murmur of their distant tread would be wafted from the wings of time to the listening ears of modern historians.

If we consider the relative importance of the Aryans in the two countries, equally striking results are before us. The Asiatic Aryans play no part in the affairs of that continent until centuries after the European Aryans had begun to make their power felt in the Mediterranean district. In fact, it is doubtful whether they were ever known among Oriental people until the appearance of Zoroaster. This means, then, that the primitive band of Asiatic Aryans that settled at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh mountains, dwelt there in peace and comparative isolation for a long time before they could muster warriors enough to spread out and command the notice of the neighboring people.[1] It was not until the times of Cyrus and Darius,[2] that the Asiatic Aryans gain a place in history. Now, if these were the primitive Aryans, the Aryans *per excellence*, from whose loins had sprung even

[1] Madam Clemence Royer in "Anthropologia," 1873-5, p. 593.
[2] Sixth Century B. C.

in that age, the bone and sinew and muscle of Europe–it is not probable that they would have so soon sunken to a position of such utter insignificance unknown and unheard of. In numbers, the Asiatic Aryans have ever been but as a handful compared with the Europeans. And further, in regard to the former having come from Europe, we can but see the logic of Dr. Latham, who says: "A mile is a mile, and a league is a league, from whichever end it is measured, and it is no farther from the Danube to the Indus than it is from the Indus to the Danube. In Zoology and Botany, the species is always deduced from the area of the genus, rather than the genus from the area of the species."[1] It is much more probable, that the handful



Slavonian Man.

[1] "Comparative Philology," p. 612.

of Asiatic Aryans should have migrated from Europe, than that almost the entire population of Europe should have come from this one small and historically unknown portion of Asia.

It is a fact worth pondering over, that those who accept the Asiatic theory are by no means agreed as to the routes by which the Europeans entered their present homes. Some would have them journey by the way of the Caucasus and the Hellespont.[1] There are those who select two routes of migration; one by the way of Asia Minor, and the other around the northern shore of the Caspian.[2] There are still others, who, recognizing the fact, that there are absolutely no indications to prove that any of them came by the way of Asia Minor, and being unable to find a convenient time since history began to rush these great migrating bands across the Hellespont, make them all travel around the Caspian, and enter Europe through the plains of Russia.[3] Keane meets this point with the statement, that the journey through Asia Minor occurred in the Neolithic Age, prior to the rise of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires.[4] Schliemann[5] has shown that the first Aryan dwellers at Hissarlik were still in the Neolithic stage of culture, and, as they were members of an Eastern wave of Aryan migrations from Europe into Asia, we consider the point strained more than will bear.

Those who support the Asiatic theory are forced to manufacture explanations for certain migrations of Aryan

1 Winchell: "Preadamites," also Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. IV. p. 70.

2 Keane in Ramsey's "Europe," p. 558. Müller: "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 244.

3 Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 388.

4 Op. cit. and "Anthropological review," 1863, p. 159. 5 "Illios."

the Aryans, relating to the movements of the heavenly bodies, that this race of people must have dwelt at one time no further south than 49° 20′ north latitude.[1] As this is a considerable distance north of the Caspian Sea, and has always been the home of the Yellow Races, it seems difficult to believe that there could also have been the home of the Aryans.



Slavonian Woman.

Prof. Sayce, who holds to the Asiatic origin of the Aryans, thinks the European Aryans were all living together in a common home in Europe.[2] He goes even further than that, and restricts the center of their final dispersion to some point "westward of a line drawn from Konigsburg to Crimea." If this be the case, some strange conclusions

[1] "Vendidad," i. 4-27; "Bundahish," xxv. 4; also consult Conder: "Heth and Moab," London, 1885, p. 223.

[2] "Comparative Philology," p. 369.

tribes, that their theory forces them to admit. In their attempts to set forth the motives for the stupendous migrations that must have occurred, they mention almost every phenomenon of nature, from earthquakes to the sinking of the level of the Caspian Sea.[1] They have given to Bactriana a climate, temperature, and fertility of soil that it does not possess. They have made it the great "center of communications between internal Asia and western countries,"[2] and such it has never been. They have transformed the Trans-Caspian region into another garden spot like the flowery vale of Cashmere. Neither has the snow line of the Hindoo Koosh been a barrier to these primitive people, nor has the sandy desert in which the Oxus loses itself failed to furnish abundant pasturage for their flocks during these peculiar journeys.

The Asiatic theory fails to account for many of the circumstances connected with the primitive Aryan home, and the migrations that we know that the Aryans made. There is not a tribe of Aryans in Asia of whom we can not say, that they, or their ancestors, were immigrants in the region which they now inhabit. No scholar or historian has yet been able to point to a place on the map of Asia and say, that there the Aryans were dwelling when their history, real or legendary, began. All are but pilgrims or usurpers in the land that they call their own. This cannot be asserted of the German and Lettish tribes of the Baltic region. This has always been their home, so far as legend, language, or history tell us.[3] Now the astronomer proves, from lingering superstitions, common to

[1] Thomas in J. R. A. S. 1883, p. 369. Keary: "Dawn of History," p. 61.

[2] "Anthropological Review," 1868, p. 160.

[3] "American Antiquarian," July, 1887, p. 283

the Aryans, relating to the movements of the heavenly bodies, that this race of people must have dwelt at one time no further south than 49° 20′ north latitude.[1] As this is a considerable distance north of the Caspian Sea, and has always been the home of the Yellow Races, it seems difficult to believe that there could also have been the home of the Aryans.



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[1] Vendidad," i. 4-27; "Bundahish," xxv. 4; also consult Conder: "Heth and Moab," London, 1885, p. 223.

[2] "Comparative Philology," p. 369.

follow. We would have an example of an enormous host of emigrants, issuing in a body from the heart of Asia, journeying in a body for nearly three thousand miles, showing no cause for their departure from their primeval homes, and leaving no mementoes to mark the routes that they took; or, here would be the solitary and phenominal example among rude tribes, of a long series of migrations, all starting from about the same point, covering centuries of time, and all converging toward the same region, the last ones destroying all vestiges of their movements. If such proves to be the correct theory, it stands as a solitary example among the movements of mankind, while in a tribal state of society, and will need strong evidence to establish its truth and make it acceptible to the historian.

At the risk of wearying our readers, let us push the investigation a little further. As we have already stated, migrations generally are of two kinds. It may occasionally happen, that a restless band of warriors will take their wives, flocks, and possessions, and make quite a long military expedition, and, finally conquering some people, take possession of their homes. Ordinarily, however, the migrations of a people take the form of a gradual spread outward from some center of dispersion, lasting through centuries of time. Caesar, for example, found German tribes crossing the Rhine and occupying lands in the Gallic territory; but we must observe, that only a tribe or two crossed each season. So Grecian and Thracian tribes took gradual possession of the coast of Asia Minor. It was many generations before they had Aryanized the country. The Indians have not yet Aryanized the peninsula of Hindoostan, although they must have entered the Punjab many centuries ago.

Let us go backward in time many ages, to the time

when the Turanian tribes called the Europeans [illegible] their own, and wandered at will from the [illegible] Asia to the shores of the Atlantic. [illegible] the continent of Europe filled up, there was [illegible] confusion of these tribes; there was [illegible] formation, a distinct people; just as there is [illegible] in America to-day the American type. Finally there arose near the Baltic the first Aryan tribes, fair-haired and blue eyed.

Nourished by the products of a [illegible] and hardened by the winter of a cold temperate climate they began to increase and multiply. As they grew in numbers, the weaker tribes were forced outward from the old home to the borders of the Aryan world. In all their migrations, they met only Turanian people. Intermixture everywhere occurred. Usually the Aryan influence was strong enough to change or Aryanize the people with whom they mingled. Occasionally, however, the Aryans must have been swallowed up by the Turanians with whom they went out to conquer. All history indicates that this spread was gradual in all southerly directions and toward the east. If our supposition, here stated, be correct, we ought to find the purest Aryan types near the old homeland, and as we journey away from this center it should grow weaker. This conclusion is supported by the best ethnologists of to-day. In a table we give the ethnical description of various European people. An examination of the same shows us how true it is, that, as we journey away from the shores of the Baltic Sea, Aryan blood becomes weaker. Thus Ethnology will support us in the belief that the Baltic region is the primeval [illegible] of the Aryans.

Now, as the [illegible]

TABLE.

PEOPLE.	ETHNIC DESCRIPTION.	RACE FACTORS.		REMARKS.
		ARYAN	TURANIAN	
East Germans	Slavo-Teutonic	Slaves Teutons		These are the Germanic people, and form the purest Aryans in Europe. No appreciable Turanian element.
South Germans	Celto-Teutonic	Celts Teutons		
East Russians	Letto-Teuto-Slavic	Letts Teutons Slaves		
English	Celto-Teutonic	Celts Teutons		
South Scandinavians	Teuto-Nord	Teutons Norse		
Great Russians	Finno-Slavic	Slaves	Finns	Observe as we pass out from the Baltic region we at once come on people who are more or less mixed with Turanians.
Bulgarians	Ugro-Slavic	Slaves	Uigers.	
Hungarians	Ugro-Teuto-Slavic	Slaves Teutons	Uigers	
North Italians	Liguro-Celtic-Italic	Celts Italics	Ligures	
Spanish	Celt-Iberian	Celts	Iberians	
South French	Ibero-Celtic	Celts	Iberians	
North Scandinavians	Norse-Finno-Lapp	Norse	Finns Lapps	

the central part of Europe, they met nothing but Turanians. These Turanians were of various types. Those of the South were small, dark, and round-headed; while those of the North seem to have been long-headed, and slightly inclined toward the blonde type.[1] The point that we wish particularly to notice is, that the farther the vanguard of Aryan migration spread from the home land, the more



Celtiberian.

marked becomes the Turanian influence, for intermixture occurred all along the line. We would look, then, on the borders of the Aryan world for a people whose blood was very weakly tinged with the Aryan. Such do we find to have been the case when history dawns upon Europe. We

[1] Elton: "Origins of English History," London, 1882, p. 151 *et seq.* Sir. G. Campbell, B. A. A. S. for 1886, p. 842. Flowers in "Nature," Feb. 5, 1885, p. 330.

observe that many of the far-away tribes of Celts are strongly Turanian; as, for example, the Celtiberians of Spain, the Welsh, and the Irish; in fact, the unsettled character of the whole people shows a marked Turanian element. In the South, were the mysterious Pelasgians, who were a peculiar people, that have left many indications of their Aryan descent, though strongly Turanized. When we enter the Slavic territory, we find there, at the dawn of history, Scythians and Sarmatians, who were so strongly Turanian that they are almost always regarded as such, but their language has been found to have been of the Aryan type.[1]

We have here probably an explanation of the origin of the various Aryan families. A certain degree of mixture with certain Turanian tribes would change the primitive Aryans into Celts. So a mixture with other Turanian tribes gave rise to the Pelasgians and Sarmatians. But as the purer Aryan tribes continued to advance in all directions, they continually recruited those that had preceded them. So we find that there were all shades of Aryans, from Celt to Teuton, from Pelasgian to Teuton, from Sarmatian to Teuton. But as the first baptism of Teuto-Aryan tribes over the Turanians was succeeded by another and another —we know not how many—the Celt became Aryanized to the Latin, the Pelasgian to Greek and Thracian, the Sarmatian to Salvonian. It is now known[2] that the Scythians and Sarmatians of Herodotus' time used a language closely allied to that of the Asiatic Aryans, thus pointing directly to the route that the latter took to reach the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, the Gates of Kashgar, and

[1] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," 395-6. Keane in Standford's "Europe," p. 572.

Punjab. The Indians, Iranians, and Chinese Aryans not as pure in blood even as the Galchan tribes of the ndoo Koosh; but, as their ancestors were all cut off from fatherland by the same inroad of Turanians from the erian plains, they show many marks of likeness.

The change in language to form the various dialects of course, easily explained. Any tribe that becomes newhat separated from its parent tribe will soon devel- a dialect of its own. The Celts had more than one dia- t, so did the Latins, the Greeks, the Teutons, and, in t, almost every one of the great divisions of the Aryan e. None of them at present speak or use the primitive gue. It has died out, just as has the Old Prussian, and t as Lettish is now doing. Still we can trace the origin the various members of the race by a similarity of dia- ts; and, as we would expect, they all rise from a Teu- ic base: thus, the Latin is said to be closely related the Celtic,[1] the Celtic to German;[2] the Phrygian to racian, the Thracian to German;[3] the Pelasgian to Geek, Greek to German;[4] the Indian and Iranian (or Sans- tic) to the Slavic, the Slavic to German and Lettish.[5] e Lettish, Slavic, and Sanskritic dialects rank nearest ll to the typical Aryan. This is just as we would suppose, their ancestors took less part in the racial warfare of ly times, and roamed freely across the plains of Russia many centuries before they became separated, and the skritic family became isolated from its kindred.

We are now better able to understand a number of ntific and linguistic points that have puzzled the an-

[1] Rhys: "Celtic Britain." [2] Whitney in Am. Cyclopedia.
[3] Keane in Standford's "Europe," p. 565. Blind in "Troja," p. 350 *et seq.*
[4] Whitney in Am. Cyclopedia. Keane, Op cit.
[5] Whitney, Op. cit. Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 95-6.

thropologist and the ethnologist. We can see why "the primitive Slaves differ from the Germans and Celts, their brethren by origin, only by very slight shades,"[1] for all were so slightly separated from the fatherland. We can understand why it is that the gulf is widest between the Celtic and Sanskritic dialects,[2] for they represent the breadth of Aryan migration in either direction. We can see why it was so easy for the Celts to almost universally adopt the language of their children, the Romans, and why the Romance languages, are almost universally built upon an ethnically Celtic foundation.[3] We can see how such a mixture of Aryans and Turanians could arise as to produce the Celto-Slavonic-Lithunians.[4]

If this theory of the rise and spread of the Aryan tribes be correct, we can easily solve one of the ethnological problems. We are told that the Galchans of the Hindoo Koosh have typical Aryan skulls, and from this it is argued, that all the Aryans must have come from thence.[5] Such a result does not follow. Quatrefagés tells us that the ancient Slaves had also a typical Aryan skull.[6] Wherever their descendants have led an isolated life, we would expect to find this type of skull. The Galchans have lived just such a life in the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. Turning to Europe, we learn that the great passes of the Alps in Savoy have been in the possession of a people probably descended from the Slaves,[7] and here, again, we meet with this typical skull.

[1] Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 14.
[2] Rhys: "Celtic Britain," p. 1.
[3] Keane in Stanford's "Europe," p. 554.
[4] Keane, Op. cit. Petermann's "Mittheilungen," Band 23, 1887, p. 7.
[5] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 158.
[6] "Prussian Race," p. 14
[7] Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 695.

After having thus minutely reviewed all the facts and evidence that we can find, that relate to the primitive home or the early wanderings of the Aryans, we are forced to the conclusion, that it all testifies against the Asiatic theory. While eminent philologists still hold to that theory, we have the authority of others just as eminent for claiming, that philology does not even require the home of the Aryans to be located in Asia, much less does it prove that it was there. We find, that, as early as the Neolithic Age, the Celts were wandering over the plains



Germans crossing the Rhine.

of Southern and Northern Europe, and Aryans of Teutonic origin had even reached the plains of Troy by the close of that Age. All the evidence that we have been able to gather in regard to the migrations of Aryan people, does not go back of a time when they were not moving in southerly and easterly directions from Central Europe. We can find no westerly movements until we pass the imaginary line drawn from Konigsburg to Crimea, for the movements of the Celts have, as a general thing, been

from northeast to southwest over the plains of Europe. The earliest Aryan migrations that were recorded relate to European Aryans who, appearing along the shores of Asia Minor, had begun to interfere with Egyptian affairs. Next, we catch a glimpse of Aryans passing through Kashgar into China; and soon the Persians and Indians appear upon the scene, spreading their authority, influence, and peculiar characteristics southward from the base of the Hindoo Koosh. We find in all this not one single iota of evidence in favor of the Asiatic theory.

Looking at it, then, from every direction and going back beyond the earliest pre-historic times, the picture is the same—great bands of Teutonic people are crowding outward from the German and Lettish fatherland.[1] When we consider that the Teutonic nations are to-day the Aryans *par excellence* the world over; when we consider that they furnish not only the bone and sinew and muscle of the civilized world, but the men of thought and learning as well; then, when we are forced to admit that they are the known ancestors of the great mass of modern Aryan nations, we ought no longer to hesitate to give the Teuton his place in history. The Lettish and Old Prussian dialects are pointed out to us as more closely related to the typical primitive Aryan than any others that exist. Keane[2] says of it, that, "although betraying more numerous points of contact with Slavonic than with any other Aryan language, it also exhibits some marked affinities with the Hellenic, Teutonic, Iranic, and Indic bran-

[1] Quatrefages claims that the Letts are Aryans in language only, but have become so intermixed with Turanian people that they are physically Turanized. ["The Prussian Race," London, 1872, p. 20.] Prof. Keane, speaking of them ethnically, calls them Celto-Slavonic, and we judge that he is nearer right. (Ramsay's "Europe," p. 556).

[2] Ramsay's "Europe," p. 575-6.

ches." We must, then, be drawing pretty close to the primeval homeland. If the Lithuanians be Aryans in language only, they must live close to the border line of the fatherland of the race.

Max Muller says, that, before their separation, the Aryans led "a life such as Tacitus describes that of the ancient Germans;"[1] and Tacitus' description of the German people will correspond almost exactly with a great proportion of the philologists' imaginary descriptions of the primitive Aryans. Their land was the land of the birch, the fir, and the beech.[2] The climate, the soil, and the productions of the land are just what were necessary for the production and maintenance of such a hardy race as the Aryans. Then why should we look to Asia for the primeval home of the Aryans, when all evidence points toward the German fatherland and the shores of the Baltic Sea?

In fact, look at the matter as we will, we can come to no other conclusion than, that the Aryans commenced their migrations from the vicinity of the Baltic Sea in Europe. The Asiatic theory seems to us to be largely a "taken-for-granted" theory. It was *assumed* that Western Asia was the home of the human family, and especially of the White Races. It was *assumed* that from that point the Hamites and Semites went west, and the Aryans moved into Europe. At present, we ought to have no hesitation in demanding proof instead of assumptions. When we reflect that the science of language is utterly silent on this point; when we reflect, further, that

1 "Science of Language," Vol. I. p. 234.

2 Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 395-6. As we shall see later the Asiatic Aryans, being descendants of the Slaves, probably never heard of the Beech

the probabilities are, that the Semites and Aryans were never co-dwellers in some common home, and that the Semites probably took their rise in Abyssinia;[1] when we read, that the traditions of the Aryans point back to a time when they were living to the north of 49° 20′ N. L., which in Asia would carry them into the Altai Mountain region, and that this has always been the home of the Yellow Races; when we perceive that not one argument can be given for the Asiatic orgin, which can not be at once applied just as strongly in favor of Europe; when an examination discloses that our later writers, with the results of modern research before them, are rapidly coming in favor of the European origin; when we recall that all the movements of Aryan people as far as known, appear to diverge from the Baltic section of Europe—when we take all the forgoing into consideration, we need have no hesitancy in deciding, for the present at least, and until better informed, that Europe not only is, but always has been, the home of the Aryan people.

In coming to this conclusion, it is satisfactory to learn that this has all evidence of being the "coming theory." The belief of the European origin of the Aryans is fast gaining favor. Among the first who dared to champion this theory was Dr. Latham, to whose works we shall make occasional reference. He has never been without followers, and of late years there has arisen a strong belief in the truth of his theory. Professor Hommel declares, that this theory is fast becoming a dogma,[2] although he does not yet feel inclined to support it. Other eminent scholars[3] recognize the fact that this European theory is

[1] This Series. Vol. II. p. 644.

[2] "Archiv für Anthropologie," Band xv. supplement, 1885, p. 167-8.

[3] "American Antiquarian," July, 1887.

fast gaining popularity, and in regard to it say that "the claims of Europe are becoming as great and appear to be as well defended as Asia."[1]

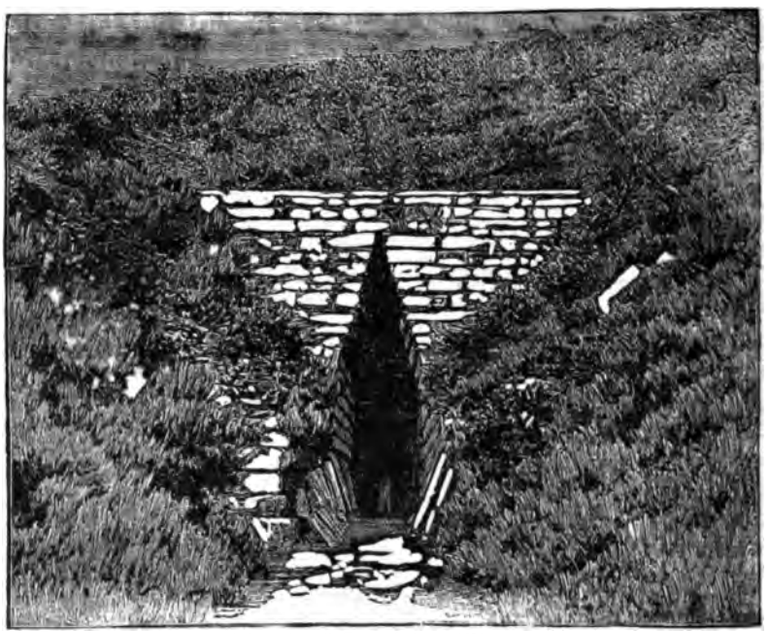
Now that we have chosen, at least for the present, the European theory, we are at liberty to turn our attention to the civilization of these primitive Aryans. We are told that philology gives us much information about the degree of culture that they had attained; but writers have indulged in such fanciful sketches of the life of these early people, that we can accept none of them as based upon a sufficiently sure foundation. The most that we can say is, that they were a hardy race, inured to rigorous winters. They were already far past Savagery, having all the principal domestic animals that we have, practicing the arts of weaving and agriculture, being acquainted with one or two metals (whether iron is not certain), and possessing some of the cereals; "it was rather pastoral-agricultural than nomadic in its way of life."[2] Accepting these statements, then, as proved by linguistic history, our most satisfactory way of further studying the life of the primitive Aryans is to pass each great group in review and learn what we can of their civilization when history dawns upon them. Even here, we will often find ourselves in the shadowy lands of tradition and myth, but we will try to glean all the knowledge that we can about these early people.

As the Latins and Greeks, with their descendants,

1 See an article by E. P. Evans, in "Atlantic Monthly" for 1886, p. 832, who adopts the European origin. We might remark that, when we commenced to prepare "This Series," we supposed it was settled that the Aryans came from Asia. The first two volumes were written with that in view. Yet when we sit down to investigate this theory, we find ourselves obliged to abandon it, and accept the more recent theory.

2 Whitney, Op. cit.

are later and historical members of the great Aryan race, they will be treated in separate chapters. There remains, then, three great primitive members of this group, the Celts, the Slaves, and the Teutons. To them we must look for our information of the character and culture of the primitive Aryan people. The Slaves, the youngest member of the Aryan race, according to the Asiatic theory, becomes a very important family when studied from the



Tomb of Scythian Kings.

standpoint of the European theory. They then become the ancestors instead of the children of the Asiatic Aryans. They belong to the blonde division of the race, are tall, lithe, and well proportioned. The Western Slavic tribes were undoubtedly among the purest of Aryans, because of a continuous baptism of Teutonic people to which they were subjected. This is proved by the shape of their skulls,[1]

[1] Quatrefages, "Prussian Race," p. 14.

as well as by the almost typical character of their language.

Among the earliest historical Slaves, were some of the tribes whom Herodotus describes as Scythians. This, however, must have been many centuries after the Asiatic Aryans had become cut off by the hordes of Turanians that came into the Caspian basin from the North and East, between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries B. C., and whose movements probably forced the Jung tribes eastward to the confines of China.[1] We find that those tribes of Scythians furthest removed from the fatherland, by constant intermixture with Turanians, became very much corrupted. Not so with a few tribes who had been forced to seek protection in the mountain fastnesses of the Hindoo Koosh. There they remain to the present day. These were the Galchan tribes, who, by living in isolation, have retained the blonde features, blue eyes, fair complexion, and light hair,[2] which they inherited from their Slavic ancestors. They, too, have preserved some of the purest ethnical features peculiar to the Aryan race, as they have an almost typical Aryan skull.[3] Their language shows a similarity to the Iranian dialect, and is thus proved to be closely allied to that used by Scyths and Sarmatians.

The Indians and Iranians were crowded down among the darker Turanian people of the South, and show marked indications of intermixture with them. They belong, therefore, to the southern, or dark-featured group of Aryans;[4] ethnologically they can not be very purely

See Vol. II. p. 434.

[2] Keane, in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706.

[3] Keane, in Stanford's "Europe," p. 558.

[4] Campbell, B. A. A. S., 1886, p. 842.

Aryan, for the Turanian people with whom they have mingled, have always been in great preponderance over the Aryan. Caste in India may have, however, preserved the Aryan features in the higher grades, but even this argument is open to serious objections, as we shall see in another chapter. The modern dialects of India and Persia are by no means typical Aryan dialects; but each people have developed a distinct religious system, the sacred teachings of which have been faithfully treasured up in the language which their ancestors used, when they dwelt together at the southern base of the Hindoo Koosh. This is the Sanskrit, and it alone tells us of the Aryan origin of the Indians and Iranians. It is understood by only a few of the more highly educated priests, who, previous to the entrance of the English into India, jealously guarded this knowledge.

The Sanskrit has, thus, been preserved as one of the purest Aryan dialects, but we can not claim so much for the racial peculiarities of the people. We have no historical records of the Iranians before the time of Darius I. of Persia, although Zoroaster must have preached his great religious reform many centuries before that time. Of the Indians, we know only that Darius and afterward Alexander the Great made military expeditions into the Punjab and along the Indus. Their own political history, however, begins with the reign of Asoca about 250 B. C. In the religious world, they were widely known through the spread of Buddhism, the first missionary religion. Previous to the time of Buddha (about 500 B. C.), they lived in seclusion; the Brahmins conversing about "life and death,"[1] Kshatriyas fighting their tribal battles, the

[1] Müller: "Early Sanskrit Literature," p. 25.

Vaisyas attending to their commercial and other pursuits, and the Sudras servants to all the others. The Slaves, known as such, did not come into historical prominence until the seventh century A. D.; and, from that time, we must look to history for a record of their growth into the modern Russian nation.

The Celts and Teutons play quite an important part in the affairs of early Europe. Rome had not yet become mistress of the Latin colonies when she was burned by invading Celts. It was the pressure of the Thracian and German tribes from the north that started the Dorian migration into the Peloponnesus, and entirely changed the nature of the population of Hellas. The Celts, as we have seen, spread away to the west and south, and had so filled up this territory as to make it appear crowded to their restless natures. They had already begun to push toward the east, and one large band had cut its way into Asia Minor, before Rome became a power in the world. At the beginning of the fourth century B. C., the Celts were in the height of their power as history knows them. They were spread over England, Wales, and Ireland when these lands became first known to the eastern world.

When we undertake to describe the Celts and the Teutons separately, as they appeared at the dawn of their history, many difficulties arise. Those Celts that were farthest separated from the German lands were, of course, strongly tainted with Turanian blood. As we approach the border line of the purer Teutonic tribes, ancient authorities either failed to distinguish as to which were Teuton and which were Celt, or else they did not know. It is also a fact, that some of the Celtic tribes were so nearly like the Germans in physical appearance as to

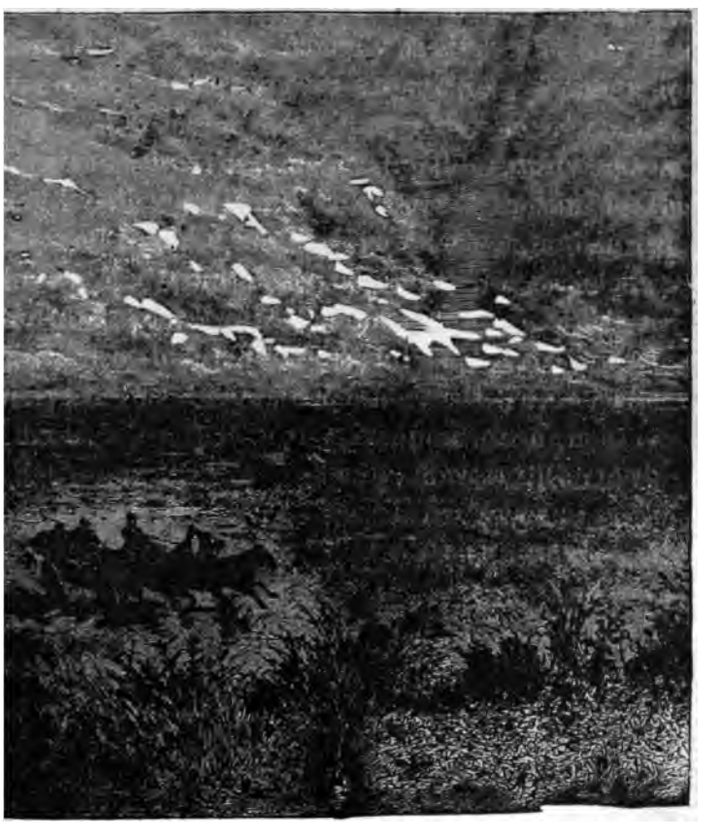
compel even those who believe in the Asiatic origin of t... Aryans to admit, that they were "descended from t... German stock."[1] This all shows how firmly the primiti... Aryan features, passing through the Teutonic people, sh... ded into the Celt and thence into the Turanian.

On the whole, however, the Celts were physically le... powerful than the Teutons, and were strongly mixed w... the dark races of the south. But wherever they h... reached the north far enough to mingle with the f... Turanians, the resulting people were fair with flaxen ha... This happened both in Europe and in the British Isl... Then, too, we are apt to gain from ancient authoriti... many erroneous ideas in regard to both Celts and Te... tons. We are told that, in Britain, naked, painted savages came out to battle in scythed chariots drawn by four horses. We are also expected to believe that naked savages came out of the forests to successfully contend with the powerful Roman legions. This is far from the truth, and is no more worthy of belief than the statement of Tacitus in regard to a battle between the Romans and Britons: "About ten thousand of the enemy were slain; on our side there fell three hundred and sixty men."[4] If we will bear in mind that our first knowledge of these people comes through their sworn enemies, the Romans, we can account for many statements that bear upon their faces the marks of falsehood.

The Celts, though less powerful, were more restless than the Teutons. They have been called the nervous race. They were ready to move at all times, though they

[1] Quatrefages: "Prussian Race," p. 13.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Elton: "Origins," p. 152 *et seq.*
[4] "Agricola," chapter 37. Church's translation.

red to dwell in towns. They seemed to delight in nd fought mounted on horses. In all this, we see uranian influence. The Teuton, on the other hand, migrated, but nearly always in search of new homes. Celts were by no means savages, however. They



Steppes of Russia.

tall, pale, and light-haired." "The women were arly tall and handsome." They wore the same as the men, which consisted of "a blouse with s, confined in some cases by a belt, of trousers fitting at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the ler with a brooch. The Gauls were experts at

making cloth and linen. They wove their stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter wear."[1] They had also learned to weave in diverse colors and make the cloth appear "as if it had been sprinkled with flowers." "The favorite color was red or a pretty crimson." They were fond of every kind of ornament and wore necklaces, collars, bracelets, and beads. "The chieftain's clothes were a flaming and fantastic hue; his hair hung down like a horse's mane and both hair and moustaches were dyed red."[2] They had almost all of our domestic animals. They were very hospitable, entertaining their guests with feasts, at which the bard was always present. Though they sometimes dwelt in rudely thatched houses, they had learned to build cities with walls and streets and market-places." They even fought with iron broad-swords at the battle of Amo, in the fourth century B. C.[3] Surely these were not rude and uncultivated savages.

The Teutons have always dwelt in the land between the Rhine and the Elbe. But, in ancient times, when we crossed the Rhine, we passed through a region whose population was of a Teuto-Celtic nature, and finally came among a people that might be called pure Celts. When we crossed the Elbe, we found a similar mixture of Teuto-Slavonic people before we come upon the purer Slaves.[4] But as the Celtic population on the southwest, the Slavic on the east, and the Pelasgic on the south, became baptized again and again with a population direct from the German fatherland, we are told that the ancient Germans spread so as to cover the whole of Central Europe with Teutonic people. This plainly indicates that the people who dwelt on the borders of ancient Germania became

[1] Elton: "Origins," p. 113 *et seq.*
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Latham: "Comparative Philology," p. 663.

more Aryanized as they became more Teutonized. Toward the west, however, there seems to have been an earlier and a stronger stream of Teutonic migration, which crowded the Finns toward the north into Scandinavia, and, pressing onward even into Scotland, may have Teutonized the Picts to some extent.[1]

The ancient Teutons were distinguished by their "lofty stature, their robust limbs, their fair complexion, and their flaxen, flowing hair."[2] They have never yet received their place in history. Their civilization has been under-estimated. We have contemplated them too much through Roman and monkish spectacles. "We have talked of his (the Teuton's) forests, till we have forgotten his cornfields; and spoken of his feats as a hunter, till we have overlooked his labors as a herdsman. We have believed that all well equipped and disciplined armies, with all their weapons, clothing, and commissariat, could come out of the wilderness, or what is yet more incredible, that naked barbarism could defeat the legions and storm the cities of a well organized civilization..... He (the Teuton) is the muscular and material man of Europe.... He is preeminently the strong man of the world.... He is nature's resource, when her nervous races, Celtic and Classic, have become effete, that is wire drawn and overbred, used up. Then she resorts to him for a fresh supply of strength and stature, bone and muscle... But the Teuton is not all bone and muscle. He has also a goodly brain, well arched, and of the largest volume. He far transcends the classic man, both in elevation of principles and warmth of affection. He regenerated the South morally as well as physically.[3]"

[1] Keith: "History of Scotland," Edinburg, 1886, Vol. I. p. 34 *et seq.*
[2] Quatrefages, Op. cit. [3] "Anthropological Review," 1868, p. 26-7.

Although the writer, from whom we have just quoted, has done partial justice to the Teuton, he has failed to understand the real origin of this Teutonic pre-eminence. He has failed to perceive in the Teuton the Aryan *par excellence*, by whom the whole civilized world has been regenerated. It is very strange that, in the light of all this evidence, so many of our scholars are even yet trying to make for the Aryans a home land in the scorched and effeminating regions of Central Asia. While in the heart of Europe, in a region almost surrounded by the Rhine, the Maine, and the Elbe, have dwelt, since European history began, this hardy German people, whose warriors taught the Roman legions lessons in the arts of war, whose women taught the Roman matrons lessons in virtue and industry. They were not an ignorant and uncultivated people, for they had their Runic form of writing for six centuries before our era.[1] Thus they were keeping pace with the civilizations of the South and East. Let us then forget the pictures that the prejudiced and misinformed classic writers have left us of the ancient Teutons, and gain, if we can, truer impressions of these strong and worthy people—the ancestor of our own English speaking race.

In treating of these primitive Aryan people and their primeval home, we have, perhaps, wandered somewhat from the old, beaten track, which the historian is wont to follow; and we only hope that we have escaped some of the ruts into which he has invariably fallen. We have studied faithfully the two theories of the origin of the Aryans, and have found all evidence pointing to the European theory. Seeing no other way open to us, we

1 Keane in Stanford's "Europe," p. 572. Taylor: "Greek and Goth," p. 41 *et seq.*

have adopted that theory; and we have found it sufficient to explain every question that puzzles the writer from the Asiatic standpoint. We must now hasten on to consider some of the more prominent members of the race separately. It is, indeed, a satisfaction to believe that the portion of the world, that to-day sees the Aryan race at the very summit of modern Civilization, watched over the cradle of the Aryan people in their infancy, and gave them nourishment as they grew into perfect manhood. We will turn first to follow the footsteps of those that wandered farthest from this primeval home into the mountains, deserts, and jungles of the Orient, and then will return to consider those people who have always dwelt nearest their fatherland.[1]

1 As these pages are passing through the press, our attention has been called to Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," Calcutta, 1880, and we are interested in noticing that Russian officers boldly claim a Slavic origin for the Aryan tribes in that section; thus confirming the conclusions set forth in this chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE ASIATIC ARYANS

INTRODUCTION — Oriental Peculiarities — Geographical Distribution — The Afghans—The Galchas—The Iranians—Zoroaster—Mazdeism—The Rise of the Persians—Cyrus—Cambyses—Darius—Re-organization of the Empire—Mt. Behistun—Xerxes—Traits of the Persians—Disposal of the Dead—Art among the Persians—Description of Ruins—Conquest of Alexander—The Parthian Empire—The Neo-Persian Empire—Religious Reform—The Indians—Description of the Country—Early History of the Country—Asoca—The Vedic Literature—The Caste System in India—Science in Ancient India—Philosophy in Ancient India—Buddhism—Ruins in India—Conclusion.



THE TRAVELER in Central Asia is struck by the Oriental peculiarity of his surroundings. The people are mostly dark in hue, and treacherous in character, dressing in a manner peculiar to the Orient. The beast of burden is the camel, and the caravan takes the place of our railroad train. The desert is as familiar to the Asiatic as the prairie is to the American, while bitter, brackish pools take the place of the refreshing lakes. The rivers start from the mountains on a joyous, rapid course, but are soon choked and strangled by the burning, drifting sands of the constantly changing deserts. Only now and then, is the current strong enough to plow its way in an ever shifting channel to some lake or sea; the most of them losing themselves in the sands of the desert. The great Oxus river is one of the few

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that is able to keep an outlet clear, but even it is constantly changing its channel; and the pittiless desert approaches to within two miles of its banks, as if by stealth to snatch the vital spark from every living thing.

But among the mountains, within sight of the snow line, are some happy valleys, that, drinking the waters from the mountain streams, blossom forth with a luxurious herbage during the few months of summer that these regions enjoy. Such is the rose covered "Vale of Casmere," the haven for the tourist during the hot and blasting months of the Indian summer. And, as we follow the Oxus down toward its mouth, we find that many districts have been reclaimed from the desert by a system of artificial irrigation by means of canals. Such regions are remarkable for the fertility of soil, and stand out in the surrounding deserts as veritable garden spots where "the white houses are like bowers buried in foliage and flowers; the nightingale warbles in every rose-bush."[1] Such regions are, however, but few miles in extent, and are liable at any time to be restored to the desert should the fickle river change its channel.

But such oases in the desert continent of Asia are only rare exceptions to the great barren regions of the central table lands. When the rivers loose their courses in the sands of the deserts, they often give rise to brackish malaria breeding marshes. So well known are these characteristics that many proverbs are current descriptive of these features. "If you want to die go to Kunduz;"[2] "Salt water, burning sands, venomous flies, and scorpions, such is Andkhoi, and such is hell," are common expres-

[1] Recluse: "The Earth and its Inhabitants," New York, 1884, Vol. I. p. 265.

[2] A river in Northern Afghanistan.

sions in that country. Nor are the mountain valleys always pleasant. On the contrary, we often come to great stretches of country that are cold and bleak, and can hardly be said to possess even a temperate climate. So marked is this feature that the Afghan language is said to be "hard and gutteral, as if the cold winds blowing from the Hindoo Koosh compelled the people to speak with half-closed lips."[1] Still, this is the very region that some think was the cradle of the Aryan race, from whence issued the great migrating bands that finally filled all Europe.



Scene on the Upper Oxus.

However that may be, there is no doubt that in this territory, for some centuries, tribes of Aryans and Turanians wandered to and fro contending for supremacy, gradually mingling their blood to form one united people. We have suggested that the first appearance of the Aryans

1 Recluse, Op. cit. Vol. IV p. 84.

in that vicinity was the inciting cause of that sudden outpouring of Turanian tribes, the troubled movements of which we catch sight of in the uncertain light of the twenty-third century B. C. Probably some centuries elapsed during which the Aryans were largely the masters. All history, however, teaches that, from time to time, great swarms of Mongolic people issued from the inhospitable regions of Northern Asia, driving all before them. And so the time finally came when the Aryan and Semi-Aryan tribes of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins were forced in turn to give way before advancing hordes of Turanian people, who, pressing westward toward the northern shores of the Caspian, cut the Slavic people into two parts; forcing one back toward the Aryan homeland, and driving the other upon the table land of Pamir, and into the mountain fastnesses of the Hindoo Koosh region, where they have since dwelt in security and independence.

As we shall devote this chapter exclusively to the Asiatic Aryans, it may be of advantage to us to first understand just what people may be included under that head and indicate the lands which they inhabit. There appear to be five independent branches of the Aryan family in the Asiatic division of the race. These, taken in the order of their importance, are the West Iranic, Indic, East Iranic, Galcha, and Haik branches.[1] The Indic comprises the many tribes of Aryans who dwell in the peninsula of Hindoostan and who speak dialects of the ancient Sanskrit language. The West Iranic branch, also called Achæmenian, includes the Parsi and Neo-Persian, Baluch, Kurdish and Ossetian. To the East Iranic branch, belong the Bactrians and Afghans, or Pushtu, people. Among the

[1] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706.

Galchas, may be mentioned the Karateghin, Darwazi, Wakhi, Siah-Posh, Kafir, and Chignangi. The ancient and modern Armenian are called Haik,[1] and will need but occasional mention in this work.



Ethnic Map of Asia.

The Afghans are an extremely interesting people and have become of great political importance of late on account of the region that they occupy. In their midst, lies the

[1] Ibid.

disputed border line between Russian and English dominion in Central Asia; and thus, these poor people are placed between two great fires, that, in meeting, may finally sweep them, as a separate people, out of existence. In ancient times, the Afghans occupied only the Kabul valley,[1] through which the Indic tribes may have passed on their way to the Punjab.[2] They have been indentified with the Paktyes whom Herodotus[3] mentions as dwelling here in 509 B. C.[4] Their language is of the Iranic type. Thus, it connects them with the ancient Slaves, and fully identifies them with the Aryan race, though in physical appearance they show many Turanian characteristics. They belong to the dark type, and thus again indicate their mixture with the Turanians.

In many ways, however, the Afghans show their Aryan descent. They have "robust frames and muscular energy." They are as bold as they are strong, and have ever gloried in their independence. "Let our blood flow, if needs be, but we will have no master," is their motto. "They are skillful artisans, hospitable, generous, and even truthful. The man who shuts his door to the stranger is no Afghan," says the national proverb.[5] They still retain the tribal form of government, and all the usual tribal divisions exist in full vigor. The joint-family is a still existing institution, and the house-father is a much respected person of considerable power.[6] "Their women are much respected, and manage the household with in-

[1] Keane in "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880, p. 278.
[2] Thomas in J. R. A. S. 1883, p. 378 *et seq.*
[3] Book iii. Chapter 102.
[4] Keane, Op. cit. Recluse: "Asia," Vol. IV. p. 84.
[5] Recluse, Op. cit. p. 85.
[6] This Series, Vol. II. p. 166

telligence and firmness." "Go to India for wealth, to Kashmir for pleasure, but to the Afghans for a wife," is an Oriental proverb that illustrates this point. But there is another side to their character. They regard "everything as fair in war," and so show no mercy to their enemies. "God shield you from the vengeance of the elephant, cobra, and Afghan," is a prayer that the Mussleman has long since learned to repeat.

There is another type of people in Afghanistan perhaps more interesting to us, in an ethnic sense, than the dark Aryans of the Southwest. These are known as Galchas, and dwell in the immediate Hindoo Koosh region and to the northward. They may have dwelt in these wild and mountainous regions since the Turanians first cut them off from their Slavic fatherland. They are the purest physical type of Aryans to be found in Asia. Their skulls are identical with those of the Savoyards.[1] As to their language equally significant remarks are made. Professor Keane[2] tells us that the language of the Galchas "may possibly prove to be *pre*, rather than *Neo*-Sanskritic." In which case we have here an Aryan people who are ethnically connected with the Slaves, and who use an Aryan language of a more ancient type than the Sanskritic, though inclined toward the Iranic.[3] They, too, dwell in the very region toward which all the Vedic and Avestic traditions point, as the land through which the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians journeyed before they reached their present homes. When we further remember that

[1] Keane in "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880, p. 277. Also same author in Stanford's "Europe," p. 558. We have already referred to this ethnic problem on page 72.

[2] "Nature," l. c. p. 278.

[3] Keane, in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706, note 1.

the ancient Slaves, or Sarmatians, used an Iranian dialect connected with that of the Persians and Afghans,[1] it seems evident that in the remote past, the territory of the Slavic tribes reached from the Vistula to the Kindoo Koosh. In the Galchas, then, we have the ancestors, and not the children, of the Indians and Iranians. We are here building, not upon theory, but the proof lies before us like the pages of an open book.

These Galchas are typical Slavic Aryans in many other respects than language and shape of the skull. Here we find also the blonde type so peculiar to the ancient Slaves.[2] "The fair or chestnut type is found almost exclusively amid the Kafiristan highlanders."[3] Professor Keane[4] says of the same people that they have "reg-



A Mountain Pass in Afghanistan.

[1] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 396.
[2] Quatrefages: "Prussian Race," p. 14-15.
[3] Reclusc: "Asia," Vol. IV. p. 34. [4] "Nature," Jan. 22, 1880.

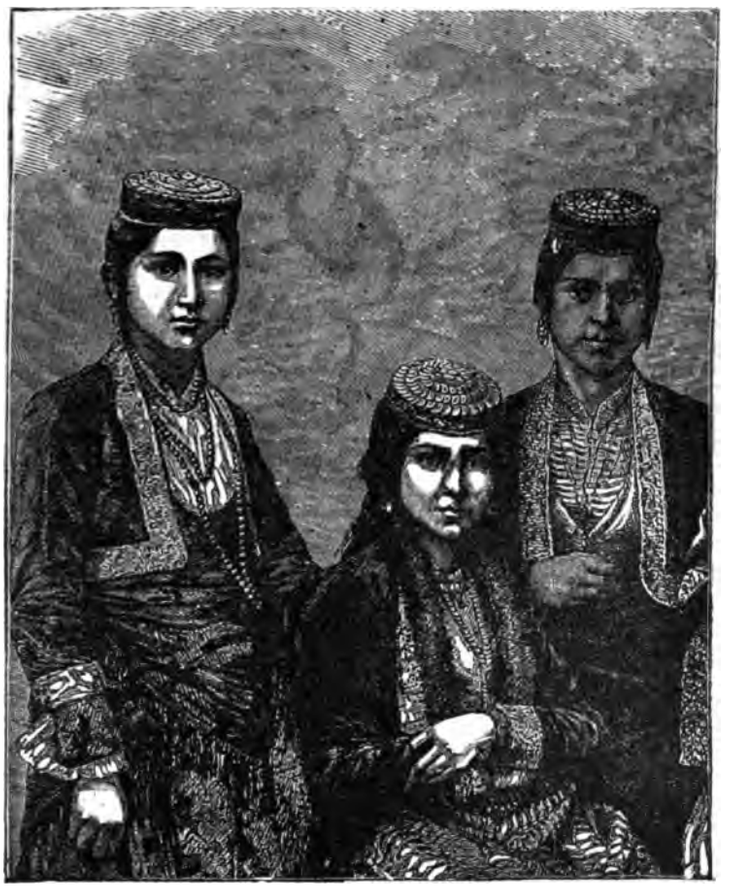
ular features, blue and black eyes, hair varying from brown to black, broad, open forehead, tall and well made." The Kafir women are beautiful and the men handsome; and the English report that the Kafirs look like kinsmen and allies.[1]

In the Hindoo Koosh region itself, we meet with Galchan tribes whose complexion is still lighter and fairer. They have blue eyes and light hair. They are considered superior to all the people about them and "have preserved their old customs, recalling those of Zoroastrian times."[2] They are by no means ignorant, for many of the schoolmasters of Turkestan are from Karateghin. Naturally industrious, they are engaged in salt mining, weaving, metal-working, and gold-washing. They trade with many of the cities in this region, principally Kokan, Bokhara, and Kashgaria. They have always retained their independence, preferring, like the race in general, to live in their cold mountain homes rather than submit to the commands of any master. Between the English and the Russians, however, it is impossible to say how long they will retain their independence, or even their purity of race and language.

The Indians and Western Iranians are usually supposed to have wandered away together from the slopes of the Hindoo Koosh. Then a separation took place, some of the tribes journeying to the Southeast into Hindostan, and some to the Southwest into Persia. Max Muller believes that it was the reform of Zoroaster that caused the separation of these people into two branches.[3] But, so long as the Kabul valley lay open to them, as soon as the

[1] Fisher: "Afghanistan," London, 1878, p. 77-8.
[2] Recluse: "Asia," Vol. I. p. 254-5.
[3] "Science of Language, Vol. I. p. 212.

Aryans took possession of the Hindoo Koosh, there is no reason why some tribes should not have early wandered into the Punjab, and why the migrations of the Indic tribes should not have been slow and continued through



Armenian Women—Haik Aryans.

many generations. At the same time, some of the primitive tribes may have pushed off toward the west and south across Afghanistan and, finally, into Persia and Media. Such movements would be in accordance with what we know of the migration of primitive people. The

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language of the Afghans is also classed as intermediate between the Indic and Iranic dialects,[1] while the Iranic are more closely allied to the Galchan dialects than are the Indic.[2] Thus is revealed the fact, that the general direction of the tribes of Aryans that reached Irania was down through Afghanistan, and that they separated from the Galchas at a later date than did the Indians.

The Iranians and Indians have each an ancient literature, in which have been preserved their legends and religious myths since they left the slopes of the Hindoo Koosh. They are recorded in ancient dialects that are of great importance in the study of philology, though they are now classed with the dead languages. From the East Iranic branch, the Bactrians furnish us with the Zend dialect; from the West Iranic branch, the Persians furnish us with the Parsi and Pehlevi dialects; while the Sanskrit is the ancient dialect of the Indic branch. The Vedic, or classical literature of the Indic branch, is written in Sanskrit; while, of the Avestic or Iranian classic literature, the oldest parts are written in Zend, the more recent additions or explanations in Pehlevi, and the latest additions or explanations in Parsi;[3] but all of these dialects have long since become antiquated. We must, from the start, understand that the Vedas form the Bible of the Indians, and the Avesta, that of the ancient Iránians.

In tracing the history of the Iranians, it is necessary to speak to some extent of their religion, since their first history is gathered from their religious books. Only an outline of this religion is required at this point, we will analyze and compare it later. In the dim light of a

[1] Keane in Stanford's "Asia," p. 706. [2] Ibid. note.

[3] Whitney: "Oriental and and Linguistic Studies," New York, 1883, p. 171.

distant past, a personage by the name of Zarathushtra, commonly known as Zoroaster, appears as a great religious reformer. We will, for the present, not question whether he be an historical personage or not, though his origin and life are veiled in mystery, and no historian can fix the date of his birth, or that of his death. In fact, ancient historians mention as many as six philosophers, by the name of Zoroaster, assigning to each a separate nationality.[1] The particular Zoroaster, to whom reference is probably made, was designated by the family name of Spitama, and the land of Bactria was the probable scene of his life and teachings. The age in which he flourished is also a mooted point and ranges all the way between 2400 and 600 B. C. While a number of our best linguistic scholars assert that he could not have lived at a later date than 1200 or 1000 B. C.;[2] other authorities claim to be very liberal in admitting the composition of the Avesta to have been as early as 700 B. C. Passing by all these questions for the present, we must be content to ascertain, as best we can, the effect of the teachings going by his name upon the later civilization of the Iranians.

It must have taken a long period of time for the tribes of Aryans to grow and spread themselves over the ancient countries of Bactria, Parthia, Media, and Persia, until they had completely Aryanized the Turanian population of those regions. But such seems to have been accomplished by the time of Zoroaster. Probably the ideas which Zoroaster formulated and preached had been

[1] "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 167.

[2] Rawlinson: "Religions of the Ancient World," p. 78. "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 148. Whitney: "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," p. 165. J. R. A. S. for 1885, p. 349. Introduction to "Sacred Books in the East," Vols. IV. and XXXI. King, in the latest edition of "Gnostics and their Remains," places him at 1200 B. C.

slowly developing for ages, and had even entered into the lives and practices of the priestly class. Then, even as now, the principles of a reform seem to have grown until the minds of the people were ready for it. At an opportune date, Zoroaster is supposed to have appeared; and, as the result of his labors, the religion that he preached became the principal religion of the Iranians. It is now known as Mazdeism. As was but natural, it became much changed and corrupted before it assumed the form of the religion of the present Parsi community of Bombay. As it spread westward from tribe to tribe, it seems to have absorbed many foreign elements from the native religions which it supplanted. And so it grew until, in a later day, it became the ruling religion of one of the greatest nations of ancient times.



Kurdish Hunter--West Iranic Aryan.

The religion of Zoroaster has been preserved to us in the sacred writings of the Parsis under the title of

the Zend-Avesta. Sanskrit scholars recognize in it, as in all cases of ancient sacred literature, a growth of literature extending over many generations. The first part only, known as the Gathas, is attributed to Zoroaster; and the language in which it is written appears to be two or three centuries older than the ordinary Avesta language.[1] It claims to be a record of the revelations made to that prophet, and the doctrines which he taught.[2] The other parts of the Avesta were added, from time to time, by priests and by teachers, claiming to be aided by inspiration. When the disciples of Zoroaster arrived in Media, they were confronted by the Magi, the priestly body, formed by the coalescing of the numerous Shamans of an earlier age. The result was a union of these two religions. When the Sassanian dynasty arose in Persia,[3] the Zoroastrian religion, after having been neglected for ages, was for the last time made the state religion, and, under the careful protection of the Persian rulers, continued to flourish until the Mahommedan conquerers forced it from its native soil at the point of the sword. The most earnest and loyal Mazdean worshipers either died for freedom of conscience, or fled to the mountains, or to foreign lands, where they could worship their own gods in peace. And in our own day, respected by all nations for their habits of industry and honesty, they constitute one of the most flourishing commercial communities on the coast of India.

Very briefly expressed, we may say that, in theology, Mazdeism taught that there was only one god, and that his name was Ahura Mazda. He was the creator, ruler, and preserver of the universe. Thus at its foundation the

1 "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 155.
2 Whitney, Op. cit. p. 167.
3 A. D. 226.

religion was monotheistic. But it recognized two all-powerful controlling spirits, one good and one bad, that were forever warring with each other for supremacy. This gave rise to a dualistic form of worship.[1] In practical ethics, Mazdeism taught that truthfulness, honesty, and virtue were commendable. It condemned idolatry. It recommended a settled mode of life and the cultivation of the land. It taught immortality, and that the future life of the virtuous was to be much more happy and desirable than that of the vicious. No doubt, this religion was in advance of the time, and the standard of right and wrong was but seldom attained by its followers; but we find in these writings the words of those inspired with a desire to advance and better the condition of mankind.

With such a system of belief, the tribes of Iranians encroached upon the territory of the Turanians. Their most earnest prayers were for the help of their god against the Turanians. It was a continued struggle between Iran and Turan. There were many tribes of each roaming at will over a vast stretch of country. Whenever a tribe of Aryans became powerful through the conquest of its Turanian neighbors, its chieftain did not hesitate to extend his authority over his weaker Aryan brothers also. Thus in early times, in Western Asia, was waged a continued tribal warfare, in which the Aryans, as a whole, seemed to finally gain the ascendency.

In another place,[1] we have shown that the great Semitic power of Assyria had become aware of the growing power of the Aryans to the north and east of it. We have now reached the same period from the Aryan side. The Median empire of Cyaxares, that divided with Nabo-

[1] "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 184-5. Darmestet: "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. lvii.

polassar the Assyrian power, was, in name, Aryan, though the people were probably not very pure in blood. But the pure Persians were pressing on from the rear. We must not forget that Assurbanipal had conquered and ravaged the old kingdom of Elam, or Anzan.[1] When Assyria disappeared as a political power, a tribe of Aryan Persians, under the lead of Achemenian chiefs, entered Anzan and speedily became the ruling power in that section. During the entire period of the second Babylonian empire, we know but little of Aryan movements; but they seem to have been gradually extending their power and influence over all that section.

During all this period of migration and conquest, these Aryan tribes seem to have continued their simple, pastoral lives. It was only the overflowing of the parent hive, that led to these migrations at first, and each migrating tribe often stopped on their way to refresh their flocks on some good pasture land or, in its season, to raise a crop of grain before proceeding upon their journey. Thus was passed time enough to conquer and Aryanize all the tribes of people with whom they came in contact. But it must not be forgotten that, wherever the Aryan tribes were weaker than the Turanians, the former were the ones that became absorbed. Thus mixture and intermixture continued until the historian finds himself in doubt as to who were Iranians and who Turanians. But wherever the Aryans prevailed they introduced the principles of Mazdeism; and, wherever they went, they instituted a more settled mode of life than was common among the Turanians. This, in itself, tended to a more stable growth in social condition and strength; and, at a time

[1] Vol. II. p. 795 *et seq.*

when the various empires of Western Asia were decaying, we find in Persia the germ of new empires destined to rule the world.



Cyrus the Great.

We have now, in this hurried review, arrived at the formation of the Persian Empire. "The Persians" is a general name given to a union of ten Aryan tribes, of which the Parsagadae tribe was the ruling one.[1] In this tribe

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 165.

the Achemenian gens was the principal one. There seems to be historical evidence for the statement, that Teispes was the first ruling chief, who extended Aryan influence westward to the Persian Gulf. Later kings proudly claim the honor of descent from him. But Cyrus appears as the real founder of Persia. It is claimed for him that he was a grandson of Teispes. There was probably considerable Turanian blood, not only in the veins of Cyrus, but in those of his people as well. But he was now at the head of the old kingdom of Elam, one that vied in antiquity with that of Babylon itself, and one of the last to succumb to the power of Assyria. It is not strange, then, that Cyrus should indulge in pleasing thoughts of conquest and glory, of once more raising Anzan to the height of power. But around the first years of Cyrus, myths have so clustered that it is difficult to decide what is history and what is myth.[1]

It seems to have been his first aim to extend his rule over all the various Aryan people in Western Asia. This involved the overthrow of the Median kingdom founded by Cyaxares, at that time ruled by Astyages. Here again myth has been busy. But it seems that about 549 B. C. Cyrus overthrew this Median power.[2] Some years were spent in consolidating his conquests in this section of Asia. But as a final result, we know that not only the Median kingdom of Cyaxares, but the Aryan states in Asia Minor were all brought under tribute to this new Persian power.

[1] See Sayce: "Ancient Empires." New material for the history of this formative time is so recent that Justi: "Geschichte des Alten Persiens" in Onken's "Algemeine Geschichte," still gives credence to the old stories, p. 16 *et seq.*

[2] The defeat of the Medes is referred to in a Babylonian inscription. see "Ancient Empires."

Of course, any power, that aspired to a very extended sway, must sooner or later, come in contact with Babylon. The glorious reign of Nebuchadnezzar had passed into history before Cyrus had commenced to extend the boundaries of his empire. The successors of Nebuchadnezzar were not by any means his equal; and it was probably apparent that the star of Babylonia was as rapidly sinking to final extinction, as it had risen to its meridian height. When such a state of affairs exists, there is always a discontented party; and when Cyrus was planning the downfall of Babylonian power, he seems to have intrigued with the discontented party in Babylon. His intrigues were successful; and when, after his conquests over the various Aryan powers in Asia Minor, his forces appeared before Babylon, the city gates were open to him, and, almost without opposition, his soldiers entered the city. And thus Persian supremacy supervened in Western Asia. They now wielded the power once held by Assyria. The whole history of the conquest of Babylon is recorded on a terra cotta cylinder only recently discovered, so that we have historical evidence of this period in Persian history.[1]

From this, we learn that there was no long siege of Babylon. Cyrus appears as the ally of a disaffected element. His success is claimed as an evidence of favor from the gods of Babylon. Cyrus acknowledges himself, as the servant of Bel and Merodach. He showed a great deal of tact in not antagonizing the religious culture in Babylon. This kindness was even extended to the Jewish captives. With his consent, a portion of them, as an organized church, went back to their ruined city, Jerusalem, and there established Judaism.[2] Cyrus ruled until

[1] Budge: "Babylonian Life and History," p. 78.
[2] Vol. II. p. 761.

529 B. C., and it is not positively known when or how he died. There is a plain marble tomb of ancient date standing on the plain of Mergab, which has for centuries been called the "Tomb of Cyrus." It is claimed that it bears the inscription: "O, man, I am Cyrus who won dominion for the Persians, and was king of Asia. Grudge not this monument to me."[1] Recent researches have proved that this tomb can be none other than that of a female; and while the natives claim that it is the tomb of Solo-



So-called Tomb of Cyrus.

mon's mother, Dr. Oppert asserts that it is the tomb of "Kassandana, the beloved wife of Cyrus, and the mother of Cambyses."[2]

Cambyses succeeded his father as ruling chieftain without any manifest opposition, though one of his first acts was to put his brother, Smerdis, to death. Cambyses spent his short reign in extending the rule of Persia over the states of Western Asia, and especially Egypt. In this he was successful. It is related of him

1 "Story of Persia," p. 97.

2 "Records of the Past," Vol. VII. p. 89 also Vol. IX. p. 69.

how he killed the divine bull, Apis, in Egypt. All this is myth. Like his father, Cyrus, he was careful to conciliate the religious culture of his conquered people.[1] Cambyses died in Egypt from the effects of a wound inflicted by his own sword, whether as a result of accident or otherwise is not positively known.[1]

The period immediately preceding and following the death of Cambyses is very far from being understood at present.[2] A revolution was under way, headed by the Turanian element among the people of Anzan and Media. The grounds of this revolution were partly social and partly religious. The priestly caste, the Magi, the united Shamans of the older period, were largely instrumental in this affair. Still they did not go about it openly. A Magian priest by the name of Gomates, holding some important position of trust, was palmed off on the people as Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the one whom Cambyses had secretly put to death when he ascended the throne. It was the news of this revolution which occasioned the suicide, if such it were, of Cambyses in Egypt. However that may be, the death of Cambyses, for the time being, rendered this attempt a success. Gomates, securely hidden within the palace walls, reigned as Smerdis. But the real power at the head of the government was the Magian priesthood. Gomates has gone into history as the false, or Pseudo-Smerdis.

Of course such a state of affairs could not last long. Sooner or later, the Parsagadae tribe, the ruling tribe of the Persians, would demand through their gentes in council assembled, to be heard in the affairs of government.

[1] Sayce: "Ancient Empires." See Justi: "Geschichte des Alten Persiens," p. 49; though Dr. Justi still gives credence to the killing of the bull. Ibid. p. 50. [2] See end of chapter.

The result was, that they determined to rid themselves of the usurper, and to exercise the right of electing one of their number to the office of king.[1] Their choice fell upon Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was young and energetic and, above all, a member of the Achemenian gens, in which the office of ruling chieftain seems to have been hereditary. Darius proudly publishes in one of his inscriptions: "There are eight of my race who have been kings before me. I am the ninth; for a very long time we have been kings."[2] This right of the council, to unseat a ruler and select a chief to his place, is a relic of a purely tribal state of society, and seems to have been recognized and exercised even down to the last days of the Neo-Persian empire.


Darius Hystaspes.

The oldest son generally succeeded the father as chief; but, in case of doubt or dispute, and sometimes of the unpopularity of the heir, this council of chiefs of the various gentes of a tribe would come forward and assert this ancient right. Sapor II. was thus elected chieftain, even before his birth, to the exclusion of an older brother. Kobad was deposed by this council and Zamasp was given the crown.[3] Chosroes I. assumed the office of emperor, when this council claimed that it was a "constitutional axiom that no one had the right of taking the Persian crown until it was assigned to him by the assembled

1 This Series, Vol II. p. 165. See also Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. II. p. 477, and note.

2 Rawlinson's Translation of the Behistun Inscription in "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 111.

3 Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. II. p. 430.

nobles."[1] Even the last ruler of the Neo-Persian empire received his crown by right of election after a period of internal disaffection.[2] In many other ways, do we find the customs of tribal life clinging to the government of early nations, proving that it was rarely possible for them to establish a purely artificial form of government, without retaining or introducing many of their earlier customs.

The Persian Empire, as founded by Cyrus and extended by Cambyses, was simply one of those huge conglomerations of tribes and people built up on the shaky foundation of tribal society. We have pointed out what plain traces all Aryan people still possess of a former tribal state.[3] It has been impossible for any government to entirely break up the system of tribal life among the Asiatic Aryans. The occupation of many tribes as herdsmen is entirely opposed to any other system of living, and the mountainous nature of their country has always tended to the same result. At the first appearance of an invading army, the weaker tribes could flee to mountain fastnesses, where they could defend themselves against enormous odds of invaders and could find abundant pasturage for their flocks. So in both Persia and India to-day, we find these still uncultivated tribes of Aryans leading a wandering and adventurous life within a few miles of populous and thrifty cities and villages, neither accepting the adopted religion of their brethren nor submitting to be ruled by them. They still worship the old nature gods or fetiches of their forefathers and live in freedom and independence.[4]

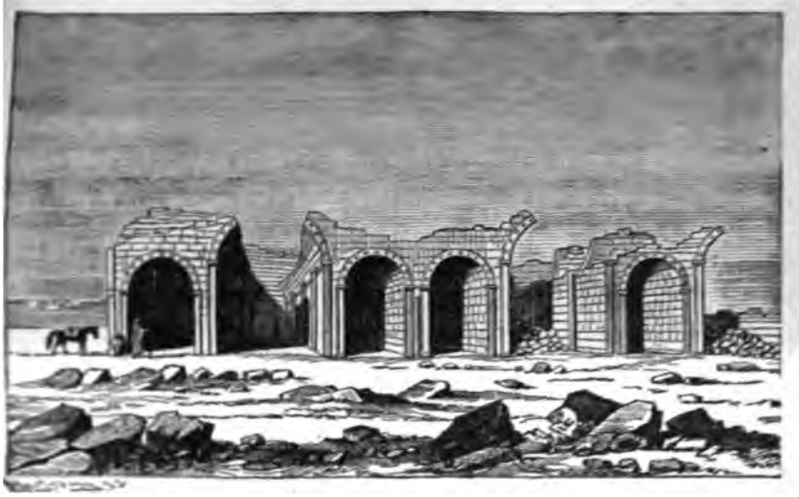
[1] Ibid. 448.

[2] Ibid. p. 541.

[3] Vol. II. p. 165 *et seq.*

[4] To illustrate this point, we quote from Recluse, who describes the wild Afghan tribes as follows: "Whether swayed by Ameer, Khan, or Jirga, the Afghan still fancies himself free. 'We are all equal,' they are constantly assuring the English traveler, and on his boasting his mon-

Darius effected a complete reorganization of the Persian Empire. He made Susa the capital city, and divided the empire into about twenty satrapies each ruled by a satrap appointed by the emperor. Sometimes this satrap was a native prince, but, more often, he was sent out by the emperor to rule the province. Communication between these provinces was maintained by means of roads that all met at Susa. A royal scribe was stationed with



Ruins of Palace of Darius at Susa.

every satrap whose duty it was to occasionally report the condition of affairs to the emperor, and, to render his authority more secure, the emperor, from time to time, sent an inspector with an armed force to visit each satrapy. Thus, was his authority maintained throughout the empire

ir tial institutions, 'we prefer our dissensions' they reply. 'Let our l flow, if need be, but we will have no master.' And if local feuds ... frequent, the tribes at a distance from the large cities escape, on the ... hand, not only from a system of unlimited oppression, but also ... the general revolutions which decimate the inhabitants of some ther Asiatic lands subject to capricious autocrats." "Earth and its nhabitants," Vol. IV. p. 35.

and a heavy tribute exacted from every satrapy. The government thus became "a highly centralized bureaucracy, the members of which owed their offices to an irresponsible despot." The emperor was this despot and the fountain of all law.[1] Even that constant element of tribal society, the council—consisting, in the case of the Persians, of the seven chiefs of the seven gentes of the Parsagadae tribe—for the time being, largely disappeared, seemingly tolerated only out of respect for ancient customs.[2]

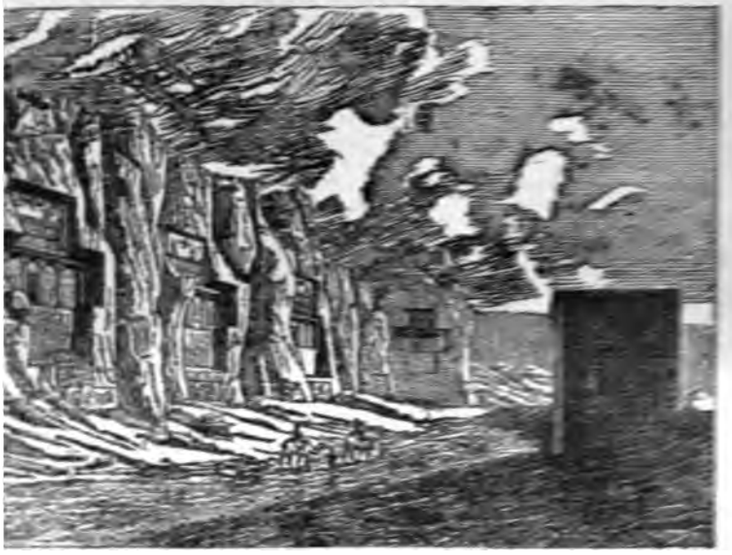
With such a government, and a revenue amounting to at least twenty-one millions of dollars in silver and gold, Darius was able to organize and maintain enormous armies, so it is not strange that his reign was one of great military success. It lasted from 521 B. C. to 486 B. C., a period of thirty-five years. During that time, he conquered nearly every tribe of people west of the Indus river, and south of the Hindoo Koosh mountains. He did not stop with the conquest of Asia Minor and Egypt merely, but crossed over into Europe, and added Thrace to the Persian Empire. Though twice defeated in his attempt to conquer Greece, he was in the midst of much vaster preparations for a new invasion of that country, when the vital force gave out and he was buried in a magnificent tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam.

The Magian revolt being suppressed by Darius, as we would expect, Mazdeism was made the religion of the empire. Darius is said to have ordered a collection of the writings of Zoroaster to be made. But the relig-

1 "Ancient Empires," p. 247-50.

2 Sayce says: "A council consisting of the seven leading families and a hereditary sub-nobility sat without the will of the king, but this relic of a period when Persia had not yet become an empire had neither power nor influence against the bureaucracy that managed the government." "Ancient Empires," p. 248.

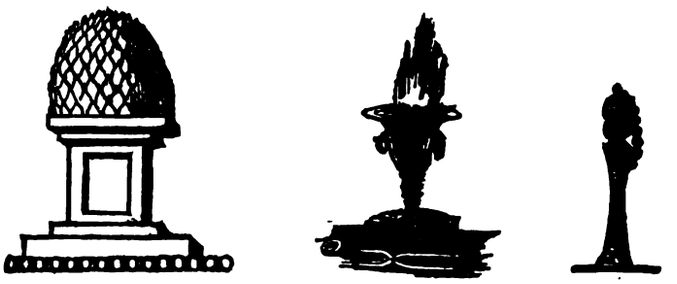
that was instituted as the state religion was not the
Mazdeism as taught by the great Iranian prophet.
is a corrupt religion formed by the amalgamation of
ism (the worship of the elements, such as fire, earth,
r, and air) with Mazdeism. Nor did the influence of
ld Magian priests disappear. After their unsuccessfu
ipt to gain governmental authority under Gomates,
seemed to have changed their policy, and led the way



Tomb of Darius at Nakshi-i-Rustam.

blending of the Mazdean spiritualistic and dualistic
ip with their own cult. In this way they succeede
rming a combination of the two religions under the
of Zoroastrianism. But having secured the offices
est as the peculiar right of their own particular sect,
priests of the new religion then proceeded to erect
fire altars on the tops of the highest mountains;
alling down fire from heaven through the lightning,
kept it constantly burning and sacredly guarded, lest
corrupted even by the human breath.

Perhaps one of the most striking natural objects to be found in the whole length and breadth of the Persian land is the imposing, precipitous face of Mount Behistun, situated in the western part of Persia twenty-seven miles east of Kirmanshah. Rising above the surrounding plain to a height of fifteen hundred feet, it presents its precipitous face to the approaching traveler, and stands out, like a great natural monument, to proclaim to passing generations the life, conquest, and the deeds of prowess accomplish by Darius the Great, by the grace of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura Mazda. The center of the face of this



Various Forms of Fire Altars.

rock, at the height of four hundred feet above its base, was polished into a smooth tablet, one hundred feet high by one hundred and fifty feet long. All cracks and crevices were filled with lead, and the whole covered with a silicious varnish. Upon the face of this rock, was sculptured in bas-relief a representaton of Darius attended by the nine conquered chieftains, upon the neck of one of whom he is resting his foot. These are mentioned in the inscription as the Asiatic rulers who revolted against Darius, and were conquered by him.[1]

1 There were Gomates, the Magian: Atrines, the Susian; Nebochodrossor, the Babylonian; Martes, a Persian; Phraortes, a Median; Sitratachmes, the Sagartian; Phraates, the Margian; Veisdates, the Persian; and Aracus, the Armenian. "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 124.

On the remainder of this tablet is recorded the history of the reign of Darius, setting forth his conquests and his power, in three languages—the Persian, Median, and Assyrian—in all of which the cuneiform alphabet was used. There are several hundred lines of these inscriptions, written under the directions of Darius himself, and calling down imprecations upon the head of him who dared to deface or to add thereto. For twenty-three centuries, has this rock stood, like an open book, inviting the inquisitive to come and read. But the historian blundered on from age to age, trying to build up a history from fragments of mythological lore, ignorant or regardless of these records. In the middle of our own century, Sir Henry Rawlinson scaled the cliff, and reclaimed to the world this valuable contemporaneous record of the history of Persia's great conqueror. From this record, Persian history has been reconstructed, and placed on a sure and safe foundation.

Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, reigned twenty-one years, and also vainly endeavor to conquer Greece. He, however, succeeded in maintaining intact the vast empire organized by his father, and he ruled with considerable energy and ability. His death occurred in 466 B. C. The seven emperors, who in succession followed Xerxes, did very little to enhance the glory, or, to increase the territory of the empire. Their combined reigns covered a period of about one hundred and thirty-five years from 466 to 321 B. C.[1]

Even in the time of Xerxes I., germs of decay began to take root and grow. The ornamentation of the palaces

[1] These kings were Artaxerxes I., who reigned 41 years; Xerxes II., 45 days; Sogdianos, six months; Darius II., 19 years; Artaxerxes II., 46 years; Okhos, 21 years; Arses, 2 years; and Darius III., 6 years.

of Darius represent the king as hunting the lion, and fighting with and killing fabulous monsters; while, in th palace of Xerxes, attendants are represented as bringin towels and delicate dishes to satisfy the whims of an effem inate prince.[1] This early sign of effeminacy increas until, when Alexander arrived with his conquering arm he met with little or no resistance. The Macedonian co queror brought with him scarcely thirty-five thousan soldiers; yet, when he met the Persians on the battlefie of Arbela, where Darius Codomanus mustered an arm



Darius Codomanus.

claimed to number on million soldiers, he said to have slain thr hundred thousand men Although the Greek a thors, who have recor ed the history of Ale ander's conquests, m have falsely stated t number of soldiers th opposed him in th various engagements is evident, that the pire had become d ganized, and that Persians had no such leader as Darius Hystaspes, dared to carry Persian arms into Greece itself. Thi quest by Alexander put an end to what is known a first Persian Empire, which had lasted, as we see two centuries.

As united under Darius and his immediate

[1] Rawlinson, Vol. IV. p. 265.
[2] Ibid. p. 66.

ors, the Persian Empire was still a country of long distances and occupied by tribes of people, who waited only for a favorable opportunity to rise and declare their independence. This state of affairs was made manifest in a marked degree, by the successful retreat of the ten thousand Greek mercenary troops, who accompanied Cyrus the younger in his unsuccessful expedition against his

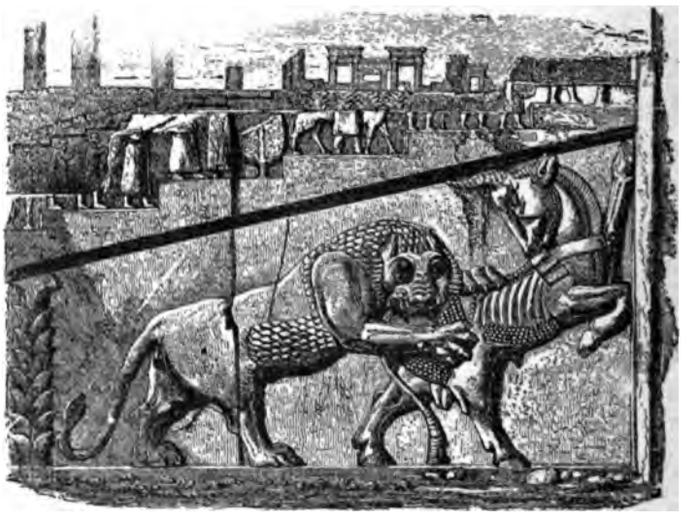


Mount Behistun.

brother, the Emperor Xerxes. On the death of Cyrus at the battle of Cunaxa, they found themselves hundreds of miles away from home, their leaders murdered, and themselves surrounded by enemies.[1] Electing Xenophon as their leader, they began their memorable retreat and succeeded in reaching their native Greece. Had the country through which they passed been inhabited by people thor-

1 Xenophon: "Anabasis."

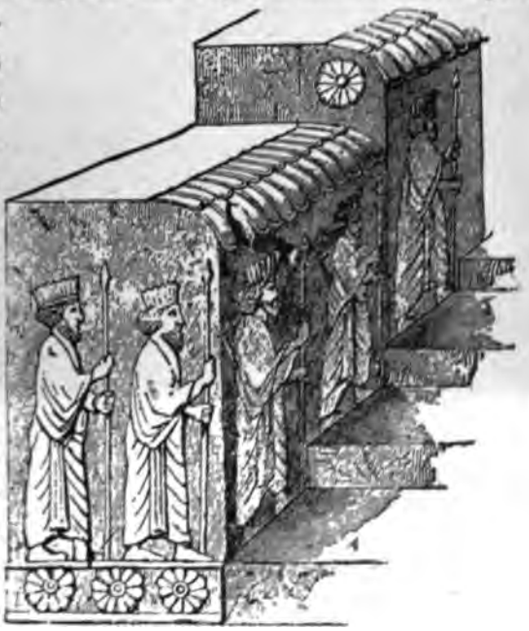
oughly in sympathy with the Persian government, a body of ten thousand hostile men could never have passed through the heart of this country, which seems to have been able to raise army after army of hundreds of thousands of men with comparative ease. While living in fear of the power of the Persian monarch, the various tribes inhabiting the empire were in a state of constant uneasiness, and the ruling monarch had to be constantly on the watch to suppress incipient revolts.



Stairway at Persepolis, Lion Devouring a Bull.

In regard to the personal traits of character of the Persians, we have to admit that they were not only cruel but apparently set very little value on human life. This is at least true of the ruling house. The majority of the emperors reached the throne and maintained the same, only by a series of bloody deeds. Darius himself gained supremacy by the murder of Gomates, and the massacre of the Magi; whenever a chieftain displayed uncommon energy in maintaining a revolt, the great "King of many

gs" caused to be recorded that he, after mutilating body of his prisoner, caused the miserable captive to hained to his palace door and, finally, to be crucified.[1] xes was murdered by two courtiers at the instigation is wife. Artaxerxes, his third son and successor, red possession of the throne by the murder of two hers. His successor, Xerxes II., was assassinated by a brother, forty- days after his ssion to the ne, who, in turn, l six months, was murdered nother brother. n Cyrus the nger was killed attle, while at- pting to sup- t this brother on throne.[2] This pter of crime d be extended nefiitely, but



Stairway at Persepolis, Persian Guardsmen.

gh has been to show that the state of society was certainly very e.

The religion of the old empire, formed, as we have

Darius says of Phraortes: "I cut off both his nose, and ears, and ogue and scourged him. He was held chained at my door, all the lom beheld him. Afterward at Ecbatana, there I crucified him; he men who were his chief followers at Ecbatana within the cita- executed them." "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 119. The same hment awaited another of his captives also.

"Ancient Empires," p. 252-3.

seen, by the union of Magism and Mazdeism, had m
ceremonies calculated to impress the masses of the peo
The priestly body was very numerous and influen
Clothed in long white robes and tall felt hats, with l
air and stately bearing, carrying their divining rods
their hands, processions of these Magi were wont
wind through the streets of the Persian capital and
the mountain sides, there to practice their weird inca
tions around the never dying fires on the sacred moun
altars. These altar fires also reminded the Iranian p
ant of his own sacred vestal fires; and, under the in
ence of superstitious dread of the priestly magic, no l
strong enough to prevent the union of these two religi
could be made and enforced.

Worshiping the elements, fire, earth, air, and w
were regarded as sacred. It was a problem to them
to dispose of the human body after death, until they str
upon the plan of erecting lofty "towers of silence" on
mountain tops. There, between the heavens and
earth, they placed their dead that the flesh might be
voured by the vultures of the air and thus be prevei
from defiling the elements. This custom of disposing
the dead, however, had not become incorporated into
Mazdean religion at the time of Darius,[1] or of his suc
sor, Xerxes; for both of these emperors, though champi
of that faith, were buried in costly and elaborate r
tombs, ruins of which can be seen by the modern trav
in Persian lands.[2] In another place, we have shown
Fetichism gives rise to idolatry. Inasmuch as Fetich
was common to all people, it has been almost impos

[1] See Mills: "Zend-Avesta," Part III. in "Sacred Books of the E
Vol. XXXI. p. xxxi.

[2] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol IV. p. xlv.

to supplant idolatry. This has been the experience of all systems of belief. So we are not surprised to find that, although idolatry was forbidden by Zoroaster, still at the time of Darius images had been already made to represent peculiar Mazdean divinities and angels. On the face of his tomb, Darius is represented as worshiping Ormazd or Ahura Mazda. The only image of this god that we find is the winged circle surmounted by an incomplete human figure like the accompanying cut. This idea seems to have been adopted from Assyria.[1] There is, however, also found, on one of the square pillars erected by Cyrus at Pasargadæ,



Representation of Ahura-Mazda.

the figure of a colossal man with four wings issuing from his shoulders, and is supposed to represent the angel "Serosh," who in the Mazdean religion meets the pious soul and escorts it across the Bridge of Death to the Paradise beyond.[2] This also represents a hybrid style of art, as the figure is clothed in a purely Egyptian style.[3] Neither the Iranian nor the Magian at this time had temples for their gods, but believed rather in paying reverence to their

1 See cuts Vol. II. pp. 766, 806.
2 See Vol. II. pp. 278, 289.
3 "Five Great Monarchies," Vol. IV. Part 333-6.

deities in the pure open air, where the horizon was t temple walls, the mountains were their altar foundati and the vault of heaven, the star-bespangled dome of ure's beautiful and sublime cathedral.[1]



The Angel Serosh.

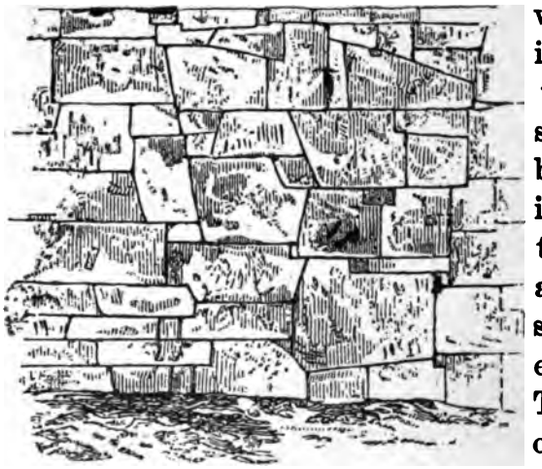
The ancient Persians never reached any great de

[1] Sayce remarks on the winged figure as follows: "Egyptia fluence may perhaps be detected in the propylae through which royal palaces were approached, as well as in the headdress of the who has the attributes of the winged Asiatic goddess on one of the p of the tomb falsely ascribed to Kyros (Cyrus) at Murghab," ("An Empires," p. 272.)

of merit in art and architecture. They were, in the main, copyists and thus originated a mixed style of architecture, showing very little skill or originality. Their religion, as stated, forbade idolatry, and, in that way, was removed the greatest source of inspiration to the artist; for, under the inspired chisel of the ancient sculptor, the rough marble block gave form to the ideal conceptions of divine grace and virtue, and transformed itself into images of surpassing beauty and loveliness. The poetical muse of both the Iranians and the Indians seems to have guarded her dominion with jealous care, and, while giving them a rich and reasonably pure form of worship, in the same breath, seems to have forbidden the entrance of her sister divinities into the fields of Iranian nature worship. It is true, that the ravages of war and of the elements have left very few remains of ancient Persian architecture; but those remains prove the costliness and magnificence of Persian palaces, and, at the same time, display, to a certain degree, a coarseness and a lack of polish in their finish.

The richest field of ruins that can be found in Persia is near the site of the ancient city of Persepolis. Here were built in succession the three great palaces of three great Persian emperors, Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes III., the Sassanian. Here also may be found the ruins of the "Hall of One Hundred Columns" and the "Great Hall of Audience," all of which buildings are said to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great, in a drunken revelry, in order to please Thais, a beautiful follower of his court. These ruins are grouped on an enormous platform, rising in terraces to a height of forty-five feet above the plain. The surface of the third terrace is seven hundred and seventy feet long, by four hundred broad, and on this were erected the three palaces and

two large halls just referred to.[1] This whole platform is built of solid masses of hewn stone, often of enormous size, though irregular in shape, these blocks were closely fitted to each other so as to present the appearance of the accompanying cut. The top of the platform on which the buildings were erected, was reached by a series of flights of broad stairs, sloping so gradually that they could be ascended and descended by a traveler on horseback. The parapet walls of the staircase were elaborately covered with ornamentation and sculptures, representing Persian guardsmen, a lion devouring a bull (see cuts pages 120-1), or some mythological event.

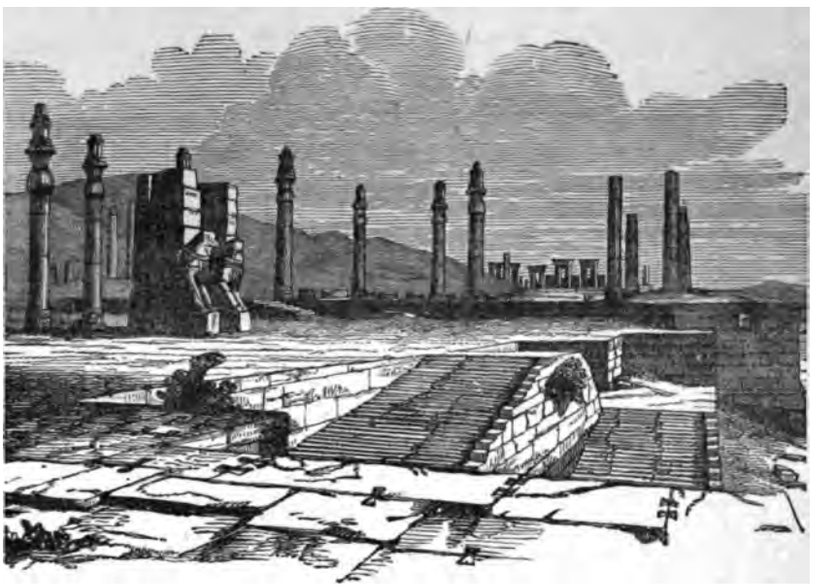


Masonry at Persepolis.

The palace of Darius seems to have occupied the most exalted position of any of the buildings on the platform. It was built on a separate terrace of its own, about fourteen feet above the general level of the third main terrace, the western edge of which it occupied, facing the south. It covered a space of one hundred and thirty-five by one hundred feet, and seems to have been a one-storied edifice about twenty-five feet high. The kingly guest, passing up a double flight of stairs, would enter the palace through a deep portico, adorned with enormous columns surmounted by "dou-

1 For further details of this field of ruins, see Rawlinson: "Five Great Monarchies," Vol. IV.

ble griffin" and "double bull" capitals of elegant design and execution. On either side, a guard-room opened into the portico, and the Persian soldiers stationed here furnished a protection against intruders. Next, he would be ushered into a square hall, the roof of which was supported by sixteen pillars arranged in four rows. On the three remaing sides of this hall, were suites of compartments, the doors of which bear the only specimens of sculptures that

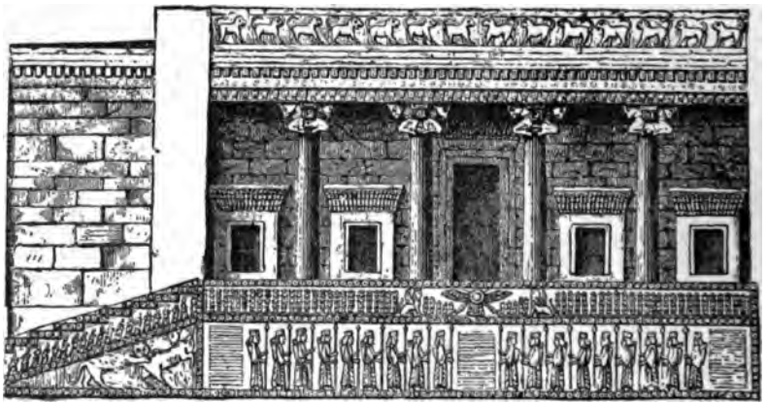


General View-Ruins of Persepolis.

adorn the room. This was the great hall of Darius, "th great king, the king of many kings, the king of the nations."[1] The ordinary Asiatic monarch was content to live in no such close quarters as these. If, however, the grand central hall, though only fifty feet square, were bedecked in true Oriental style, it would have presented no mean appearance. And it probably was so adorned.

[1] Inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

The columns were, no doubt, slender and graceful, and plated with gold and silver. The beams and rafters of the ceiling were regularly arranged at right angles, and likewise coated with precious metals. The cold stone walls, broken here or there by window or door, were similarly decked and further bespangled with jewels, curtains of brilliant hues hung across the entrances. The floors were paved with many colored stones, and in places covered with magnificent carpets. An elevated golden throne, under a canopy of purple, adorned the upper end of the

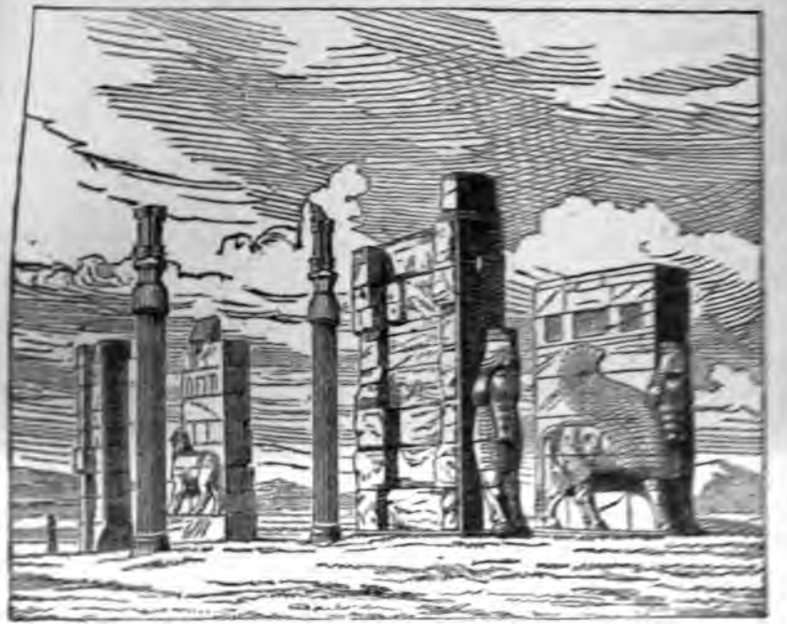


Palace of Darius—Restored.

hall. We can thus see how elegance of form and richness of adornment may have more than compensated for the want of that grandeur which results from mere size.

The palace of Xerxes stands on the same main platform, and is built after the plan of that of Darius, though double the size; but there are a number of gateways guarding the various entrances to the platform, or palace, that are remarkable for their size and ornamentation. They were halls of great size and may have been "throne rooms where the monarch held his court on grand occasions." The largest of these was eighty-two feet square, surrounded

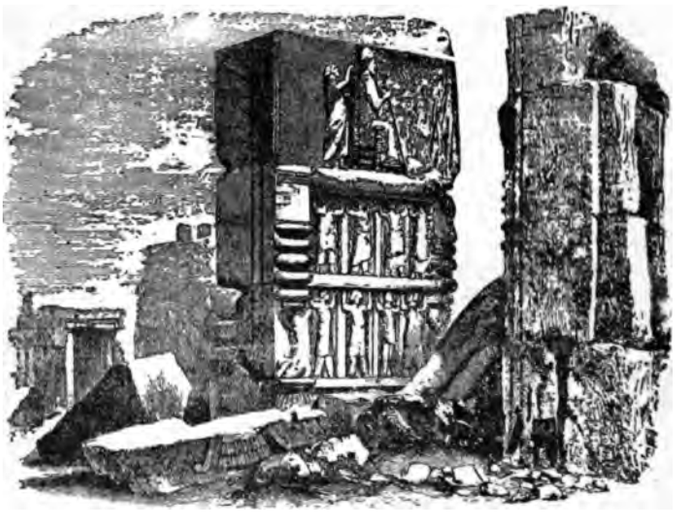
by walls sixteen feet thick, the roof being supported by four massive pillars nearly sixty feet high. The apartment was entered through two portals thirty-six feet high, and twelve feet wide, and these were flanked with figures of colossal bulls, some of which were winged and human headed, similar to those of Assyrian workmanship.



Ruins of Palace of Xerxes.

The ruins of two structures of enormous dimensions may also be found on this same platform. These were two pillared halls, probably used for public gatherings, where the emperor presided before great assemblies of people. Both were similar in shape and construction to the gateways. One is called, by the archæologist, the "Hall of One Hundred Columns," because the roof of the main audience room was supported by that number of lofty marble pillars, arranged in ten rows in an enclosure two hundred and twenty-seven feet square. The portico was

one hundred and eighty-three feet deep, and also supported by columns. The "Great Hall of Audience," though similar in design, was even grander in proportions. The ruins of this enormous building cover an area three hundred and fifty feet long by two hundred and forty-six feet broad. The central square alone covered over twenty thousand square feet. The roof of this part was supported by thirty-six pillars, arranged in six rows. But the

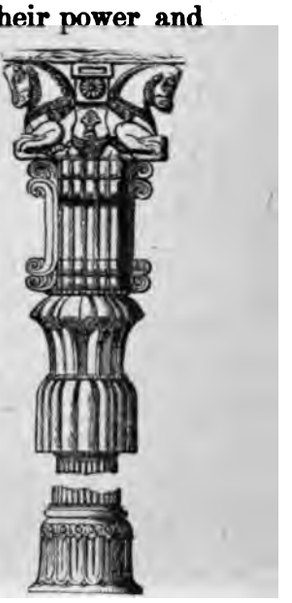


Gateway to "Hall of One Hundred Columns."

most remarkable feature of the building was the height of its columns. These all towered above the platform to the uniform altitude of sixty-four feet and were, besides, of a much more ornamental and complex style of architecture than any that we have previously examined, as will be seen from the accompanying cut.

We have taken a hasty glance at the most remarkable relics of ancient Persian grandeur. It is humiliating to record, also, that it was Aryan against Aryan that finally led to the downfall of these proud cities and lofty halls.

No amount of labor or wealth can repair the ruin of a single night of revelry on the part of the Macedonian conqueror. Much of the grandeur of these proud old emperors has disappeared, but enough remains for us to dimly realize what must have been their power and resources, to enable them to send forth their vast armies to new victories and further conquests, and, at the same time, to cultivate the arts of peace. They were able to quarry blocks of marble so massive that it would baffle our own enlightened age, with all its arts and mechanical skill, to remove them from their native beds.



Column from "Hall of One Hundred Columns."

The first Persian Empire was, as stated, brought to an end by the conquest of Alexander the Great. The career of the great Macedonian is one of the most wonderful in the annals of the world, and exerted a very great influence on the culture of Western Asia. We are here not concerned with giving even an outline of his conquests. We want only to sketch the fortunes of the Persians. It suffices to say, that more than five hundred years pass away before we come to the New Persian Empire. Alexander himself soon passed off the stage of action. The Syrian kingdom of Seleucus Nicator, which at first included the greater part of Alexander's kingdom, in fact, all of the Asiatic conquests except Lower Syria and Western Asia Minor, for the time being, ruled over most of the territory of ancient Persia.

But this kingdom lost power and territory almost from the first. As it declined, there grew up the Parthian King-

dom. Parthia was properly the country to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, and was formerly one of the satrapies of Persia. Its inhabitants were, probably, never very pure Aryans; and probably, in the course of time, new arrivals of Turanian people came from the north. At any rate, the ruling people in Parthia were Turanian as is shown by their customs, language, features, and other traits. Parthia became independent[1] about fifty years after the fall of Persia; a century later, it was at the height of its power; and for four centuries, all the territory of ancient Persia, east of the Euphrates, was a part of her territory.

We can say in a few lines all that we deem necessary of the Persians during these five centuries of vassalage. Under Greek rule, we do not find the Persians greatly oppressed. They were not forbidden to worship according to their own religion. But Mazdeism was neglected; and, had it not been for the devotion of the people, and the zeal of the Magi and priests, it must have lost much of its hold upon the nation. Neither was the Parthian yoke, seemingly, a hard one. Persia was made a satrapy and was ruled by its own prince who was possibly a descendant of the royal Achemenian line of chiefs. The Parthian emperors do not seem to have interfered with Mazdeism. In fact, Mazdeism seems to have been promoted and even to have been the favored religion of the empire, at least under several of the early Parthian rulers.[2] But during the later days of Turanian rule, Mazdeism fell into disrepute. The Magi were neglected; idolatry was introduced; the sacred fires were allowed to go out; the fire-temples themselves were destroyed; the rulers demanded to be worshiped as gods; and many other rites were instituted, that seemed extremely sacrilegious to the true fol-

1 249 B. C. 2 "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. xxxv.

owers of Zoroaster.[1] Such a state of affairs alone has been sufficient to cause many a great uprising and rebellion against emperors and kings, as all past history will prove. For mankind will sacrifice more for liberty of conscience than for any other right or advantage; and it was largely under the banner of a religious reformer, that the Neo-Persian empire arose upon the ruins of the great throne of Cyrus and Darius.

The individual who was destined to raise Persia from her long subject state, and to re-establish the ancient religion of the land is generally called Artaxerxes though also named Ardeshir. He was appointed satrap of Persia by the Parthian emperor, Artabanus. While claiming to be a descendant of the royal Achemenian family, the probabilities are that he was not of such descent, but the son of a Persian soldier bearing the name, Sassan. However that may be, he was certainly an able and ambitious man. Just such a person as would be apt to



Artaxerxes.

iietly gather the forces of Persia, and test the question strength with the ruling power, Parthia. In this const, he of course made use of every advantage he could; nd not the least in importance would be the aid of the still umerous and influential priesthood, the Magi. In his forts, he was successful; and, in the year 227 A. D., the arthian power was overthrown, and the Neo-Persian npire appeared on the scene. Speaking generally, it in uded the territory of ancient Persia, east of the Euphrates.

As this revolt was so largely a religious one, it is

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. III. p. 223.

not strange that we hear of a reformation taking place as regards Mazdeism. At this time, "Western Asia was a seething pot, in which were mixed up a score of contradictory creeds, old and new, rational and irrational, Sabeism, Magism, Zoroastrianism, Grecian Polytheism, Teraphim-worship, Judaism, Chaldean Mysticism, Christianity."[1] Artaxerxes began at once a system of religious persecution. Temples of worship, not Mazdean, were ordered closed; idols were destroyed; and the Magi were assigned lands that placed them in positions of pecuniary independence. It was seemingly his intention to unite all these various and conflicting beliefs into one common form of worship, that of Mazdeism.

In order to best accomplish his purpose, Artaxerxes caused a council of priests to be assembled at his court for the double purpose of reviving pure Mazdeism, and collecting into one volume whatever of former writings and collections had been preserved through the vicissitudes of wars and the enmity of hostile rulers, as well as to gather and add thereto all that could be gleaned from the memories of the priesthood of the entire land. It is said, that more than forty thousand priests assembled in answer to his call.[2] This grand concourse of sacred teachers, clad in their long robes, as pure and white as the historical ermine of the judge's gown, flocking toward the Persian court, must have filled the common tribesmen with superstitious awe and reverence for their sacred teachings, and must have crowned their pious ruler with praise and almost adoration. This enormous assembly of the priesthood seems to have been governed by a like desire to formulate a pure and perfect form of religion. They proceeded to

[1] Rawlinson: "Seven Great Monarchies," Vol. III. p. 271.
[2] "History of the Parsis," Vol. II. p. 165.

t from their number first a committee of four thou-
, then of four hundred, from these forty, and finally
these seven, each time striving to choose those
cially distinguished for learning and piety. To these
n, was given the task of compiling a revised edition of
Zoroastrian creed, and this edition stands to-day as
ority in all Parsi communities, although there seems
springing up a more liberal school of interpreters,
are discarding many of the old superstitious practices
eir forefathers.

This final committee of seven met and chose as their
r a young and pious priest named Arda Viraf, who
instructed to prepare a collection of all the teachings
ie Mazdean faith, and to blot out all practices that
evil, impious, and harmful. It is claimed for him
he spent seven days in a trance, during which all
e religious precepts were revealed to him. This may
n that he, with the aid of six assistants, managed to
ct from the assembled thousands all the then existing
ings, traditions, and scraps of wisdom that clustered
nd the name of Zoroaster, and these, combined with
teachings of the Magi, he condensed into a useful vol-
of valuable precepts. The result of this work did
o means give to the people the pure Zoroastrian doc-
a, but the book of Arda Viraf seems to have furnished
od, united system of religious worship and moral
epts, which then became the religion of the empire.
, no doubt, contained all that was good in Mazdeism,
ism, and the many other beliefs that had crept into
Persian territory. The blended religions were accep-
by the people in general; and, from that time until
appearance of Mohammedanism, the new faith was
nly preached by the priests, but also enforced by the

government. We have given a short historical outl of the growth of Mazdeism, but a discussion of the pr ciples of this system, and its place in the ranks of c parative religions, we will reserve for another chapt

The Neo-Persian empire existed for about four h dred and twenty-five years, and during that time, twe eight monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty sat on throne. But few of them, however, ruled with any gr degree of energy or distinction. The first of them Sapor I., Artaxerxes' immediate cessor. He is known in history as only Persian that succeeded in bring a Roman emperor (Valerian) to court as captive. He held the rein government with a strong hand, proved himself one of the most abl the Persian rulers. His mother is to have been the daughter of Artaba the last Parthian emperor.[1] Emperor Chosroes I., h ever, who began his reign A. D. 521,[2] not only was abl maintain the Persian empire unbroken, but extended conquests into neighboring provinces and caused the man emperors to fear him and respect his rights. Ab all his predecessors, did he succeed in enshrining memory in the hearts of the Persians by his endeav to rule with mildness and to better the condition of subjects. He built and populated cities; and loving tr ditions relate that he was followed from one end of empire to the other by armies of architects and build who were instructed to repair the humble cottage of peasant as well as the walls of stately royal halls.



Sapor I.

[1] Rawlinson, Vol. III. p. 279.

[2] "History of the Parsis," p. 8, 9, 70.

He instituted a number of reforms, that placed Persia in advance of contemporary nations. He willingly formed a treaty with Rome, that guaranteed protection to all Christians residing in Persia, allowed commercial intercourse between the two empires, and provided that all future disputes arising between the two empires were to be settled by courts of arbitration. Finding that his empire was broken up into too many satrapies, he divided it into four districts, each presided over by a viceroy, who was to receive reports from the satraps and, in his turn, report to the emperor. He regulated the land tax

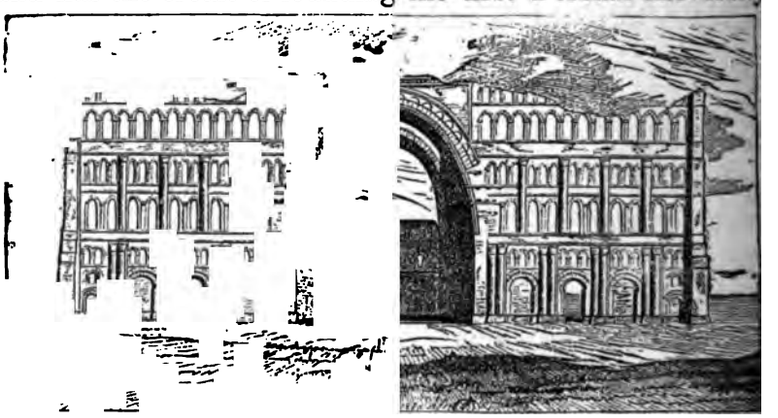


Architectural Columns, Sassanian Period.

so as to encourage agriculture. A reform in the administration of the Persian army is also ascribed to Chosroes. Every soldier and officer was encouraged by a payment according to the rank to which he belonged. The treasury could no longer be robbed, neither could any soldier, private or officer, draw more than his rightful pay by misrepresentation. There was likewise a reform made in the administration of justice, whereby the rights of every subject were considered as sacred as those of the emperor himself. Though very jealous in regard to his own rights as emperor, we find this wise monarch so careful of the

rights of his subjects as to in no way trespass again them to gratify his own desires.

During this reign, we also notice a great step in ad vance for Persia. Although the emperor, himself, was a believer in Zoroastrianism he was very tolerant toward believers in other religions. One restriction only seems to have been placed upon the followers of other gods and that was forbidding proselytism. He invited travelers, sages philosophers, and the learned of all nationalities to his court and has the credit of founding the first Persian university



Palace of Chosroes I.

at Shapoor, where medicine, philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry were studied. Thus we see the Iranians passing through their period of highest development and enlightement during the reign of one who was cruel toward his enemies, relentless in his punishment of offenders of the law, and severe in the penalties attached to the violations of his laws. On the whole, however, it was only such a strong and fearless mind combined with a firm hand, that could hope to institute and maintain such reforms at such a time in this greatest of Oriental Empires.[1]

[1] Rawlinson's Vol. III. p. 448, *et seq.* "History of the Parsis," Vol. I. p. 10.

During the latter part of the Neo-Persian period, art and architecture received a great deal of attention throughout the entire empire. A refinement and a degree of ornamentation never before known seem to have been introduced. The remains of four palaces are found. These were situated at Serbistan, Firuzabad, Ctesiphon, and Mashita, the third of which was the palace of Chosroes I. and the last that of Chosroes II. Only a small portion of the palace of the first Chosroes remains standing, but this proves it to have been a massive erection, filled with apartments arranged and furnished on the grandest scale. All that remain of the walls may be seen from the accompanying cut about one-fourth of the original enclosure. The exterior ornamentation of all the Sassanian palaces was by pilasters, arched recesses, and cornices. "The interior ornamentation was probably, in a great measure, by stucco, painting, and, perhaps, gilding. All this, however, if it existed, has disappeared."

The Mashita palace, of Chosroes II., though somewhat smaller than that at Ctesiphon, is said to far exceed the others in beauty of ornamentation. The face of this building presents specimens of the most elaborate ornamentation known to the ancients. Figures of peacocks and parrots are mingled with those of the lion and the wild boar in the greatest profusion; and, midst the whole, are intertwined branches and vines bearing rich clusters of fruits and nearly concealing the groups of smaller birds and animals. It is indeed a delicate piece of workmanship, and modern times can scarcely produce anything so elaborate. North-east of Kirmanshah, there are the ruins of an arch known as Takht-i-Bostan, or "Roof of the Gardens," that need especial mention on account of its bas reliefs, said to be little inferior to the best Roman art. The court of the later Sassan-

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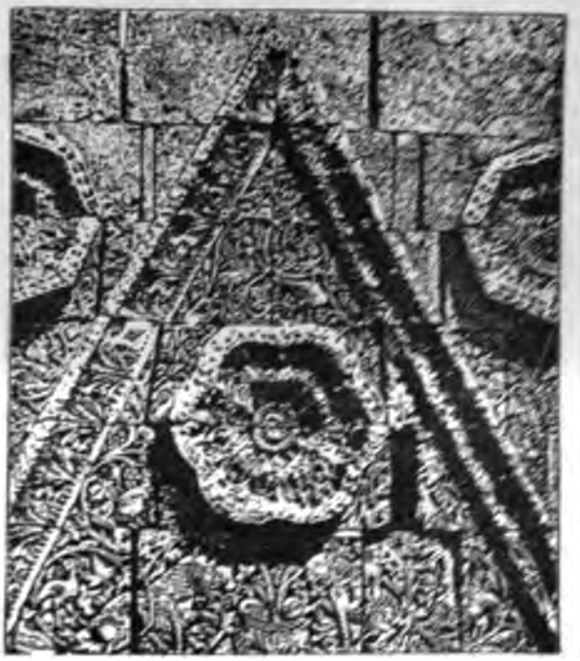


Sapor I.

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who were instr
peasant as wel

1 Rawlinson, V
2 "History of t

dly received by their more fortunate brethren, and
en lands on which to rear their fire altars. They now
n a wealthy and respected community, if which are to
found the merchant princes of Bombay. Thus fell one
he greatest of Oriental empires; but the records of its
ds and the proud name that it will ever bear in history
endure until the mountains, that alone have witnessed



Ornamentation of Mashita Palace

e struggles that occurred in their fastnesses, shall have
sed to exist, and all history be buried in oblivion.

We have now given a very brief account of the an-
nt Persians. Before passing on to the Aryans of India,
us note the strongest point in the culture of the Per-
ns. It is in the field of religion. Zoroaster, or the re-
n going by his name, exerted a very great influence

throughout Western Asia. Nor was its influence c
fined to Asia. Zoroaster was known among the Gre
as a great eastern sage and philosopher, and a numl
of Greek writers left treatises on his doctrines.[1]
deed it is not too much to say, that even to the pres
day Mazdean doctrines color the prevailing religious
liefs of the world.

When we turn to consider the Aryans of India,
have before us a very interesting field, and one that is
yet fully understood. There are not wanting those w
think we have in India relics of the oldest civilization
the world, that here was the real cradle of the Ary
race. And yet we fail to find any satisfactory foundat
for such an hypothesis. From India as a center, very gr
influences have gone out in the field of religion, as will
shown. But the probabilities are that the Aryans
comparatively late arrivals in India, and it seems uns
to assign any very high value to the Dravidian civili
tion which they superceded.[2]

We have seen that the pressure of Turanian trib
advancing from the north, probably forced the Sla
Aryan tribes, that had wandered into the regions east
the Caspian Sea, over the table lands of Pamir into t
Hindoo Koosh region. But sooner or later, the ancest
of the Indo-Aryans discovered the head-waters of t
great rivers of India and followed them down i
fertile plains, spending no doubt many seasons on th
journey, during which they grew their crops of grain a

[1] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV. p. xlvii.

[2] In apparent contradiction to the above, we must state that th
are not wanting many evidences of a very ancient civilization in Inc
We recall that it is only within the last few years that we have learn
of a period of Turanian culture in Mesopotamia. It may sometime
shown, that the Dravidian culture in India was considerably advanc



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refreshed themselves with long seasons of rest. Wending through the Kurman and Gomal passes,[2] or exploring for the first time, the great thoroughfare of the Kabul river valley, through which the great armies of Oriental conquerors have from time immemorial entered the plains of India, we find the forefathers of the Indo-Aryans at last encamped on the banks of the great river, Indus, and singing their songs of praise and thanksgiving to its waters.

"Flashing, sparkling, gleaming, in her majesty, the inconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a handsome, spotted mare, the Sindhu (Indus) rolls her waters over the levels. Mistress of a chariot, with noble horses, she traverses a land yielding sweetness."[3] Thus they sang of this noble stream, as they took possession of the land which it drains, and made war upon the people who had previously, in their turn, entered and taken possession of these rich and coveted plains.

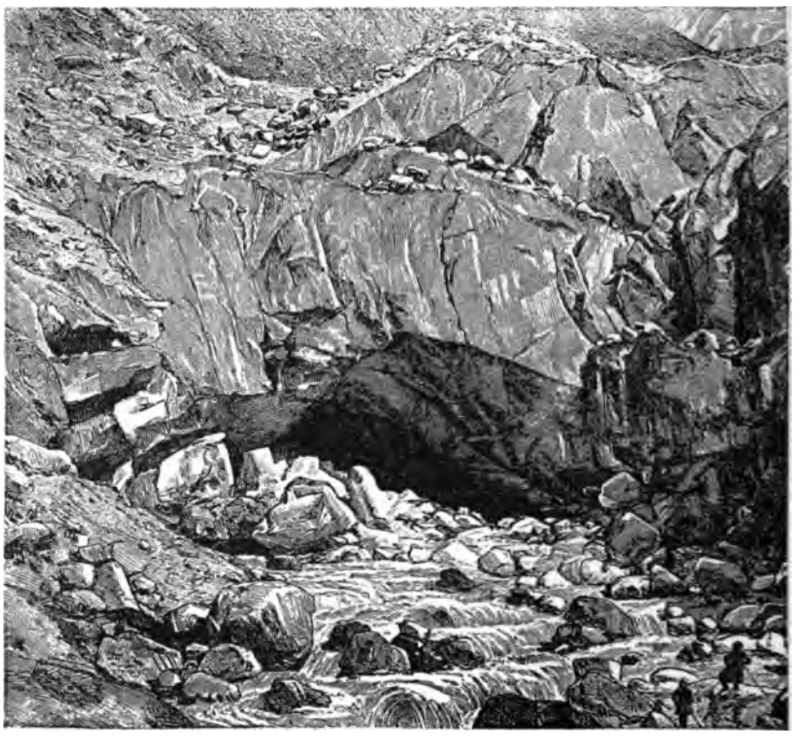
The tribes of Aryans who first entered India were an energetic and hardy race of people, in this respect superior to the older inhabitants whom they either supplanted or swallowed up. Still, we are not to picture them as very much in advance of the primitive Aryans.

The area of India is about one million five hundred thousand square miles. It is divided by Dr. Hunter into three sections. There is first the northern or Himalaya section, an elevated mountainous tract whence rise the great rivers of India. This is followed by the "river

and undoubtedly very ancient, that the Aryans played the same part in India that the Semites did in Mesopotamia and asserted the culture of the Dravidians. This would explain many otherwise dark points. We look for the Turanians in India to exert their greatest influence in the field of religious culture.

[1] Journal R. A. S. 1882, p. 389. [2] Ibid. p. 61.

plain," the section watered by the Himalaya rivers. Extending from the Indian ocean on the west, to the Bay of Bengal on the east, it comprises one of the most densely populated regions in the world. Every square mile has to feed about two hundred and fifty people, or one-fifth more than England with all her manufactories.[1] The great rivers of India (the Indus, the Brahmapootra, and



Source of the Ganges.

the sacred Ganges, whose source is in the southern slope of the Himalayas) with their tributaries, cover the whole country with a veritable network of streams with fickle changing channels. This great Bengal region, though

1 Hunter, p. 3.

densely populated, is very fertile and capable of producing two and even three crops a year.[1]

Sloping upward from these river plains, the third region of India succeeds the second, forming an extensive triangular table land populated with non-Aryan races of men. It is a land of mountain peaks and dense forests; its black soil is very fertile. The inhabitants have reclaimed some portions of it from the forests; and so we find occasional villages and cultivated fields interspersed between forest tracts, so dense that Sanskrit poets were wont to speak of this table land "as buried under forests."[2]

India has been called "a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture."[3] We have briefly referred to the most important of these races, and have spoken of their arrival in India and their gradual extension over the country, absorbing, or driving, still farther south those still lower tribes who preceded them.[4] Following in the wake of these Dravidians, the Aryans finally appeared at the headwaters of the great Indian rivers and conquering, absorbing, or dispossessing in their turn, gradually spread toward the south. When the English conquerors entered India, they occupied the northern part of Hindostan and were gradually spreading toward Farther India. We find also that the southern half of Ceylon was inhabited by Aryans.

We have almost no date from which to reckon the the antiquity of the Aryans in India. Back of the first historical date (connected with the religious reform of Buddha in the fifth century B. C.), is a period of unknown duration. We must calculate how long it would require

[1] Ibid. p. 22. [2] Ibid. p. 25. [3] Ibid. p. 35.
[4] This Series Vol. II. p. 364.

for them to develop a system of religion into such a degree of perfection as Brahmanism had attained. We must allow time for the composition of the Vedic and contemporary literature. All this must have been accomplished in that period of Indo-Aryan history that elapsed between the time of their separation from their Iranian brethren and the first date that appears in their history. Professor Muller[1] allows eight centuries of time for this period of growth; and we believe, with many others, that if he has erred at all in his figures, it has been in allowing too short, rather than too long, a time for this period of growth.[2]

The whole era is devoid of historical records. There are, however, two great epic poems that apply to these times; but they are about as valuable as historical evidence, as the poems of Homer are in the history of Greece. They are the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and only preserve the legends of two great Aryan tribes,[3] that had settled in the northern part of India at an early day. But these show traces of having been collected, arranged, and even remodeled at a comparatively recent date[4] by Brahman priests. Consequently we have no history of the Indo-Aryans before the fifth century B. C., when the effects of the teachings of Buddha began to manifest themselves. There are very few remaining dates in their history for the following ten centuries, except those immediately dependent upon the date of Buddha's death.[5]

The reform of Buddha was a religious reform and went on quietly, exerting no political influence until the

[1] "Sanskrit Literature," p. 572.
[2] Williams: "Hinduism," p. 3, 19.
[3] Hunter, p. 57-63.
[4] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 41-9. [5] Barth, p. 107.

time of Asoca, about the middle of the third century B. C. We know, however, that Darius Hystaspes, in the meantime, pushed his conquests into India, but can not tell how far he advanced, nor the effect of his conquest. Alexander the Great also invaded India. He found, as we would suppose, the whole country occupied by a host of independent tribes, each governed by a Raja, or chief, of its own. But in the Punjab, the most of these tribes had become united into three powerful confederacies,[2] under three chieftains named Taxiles, Porus the elder, and Porus the younger. Taxiles immediately went over to Alexander, the forces of the other two were defeated, and the Macedonian remained ruler of the whole of northern India. This was about 327 B. C. Passing down the Indus to the sea, the Greeks turned backward toward Asia Minor, leaving India under the government of one of Alexander's tools. He was soon murdered, and his successor was driven out of the country as soon as the news of Alexander's death reached the banks of the Indus.[3]

About this time, we hear of Chandra Gupta, who succeeded in forming a confederacy of such power that he was acknowledged ruler of the whole Punjab. He established himself so strongly that Seleucus, Alexander's successor in Eastern Central Asia, thought best to leave him undisturbed, and even to make a treaty with him.[4] This

[1] Williams: "Hinduism," p. 4.

[2] "Rajendralala Mitra," Vol. II. p. 3.

[3] Wheeler: "A Short History of India," London, 1883. p. 47-9 In regard to the conquest of India by Alexander, consider the following: "The story of the conquering army of Alexander penetrating into Northern India, itself becomes more and more doubtful every day. No Hindoo national record, not the slightest historical memento throughout the length and breadth of India offers the slightest trace of such an invasion." Madame Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 429. [4] Wheeler, Op. cit.

Chandra Gupta was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottus and was the grandfather of Asoca,[1] the champion of Buddhism. Asoca leaves the first inscriptions that are known to Indian antiquarians. He extended his conquests even across the Indus into what is now Afghanistan. He did



Scene at Benares.

more for religion, art, and culture than any of his predecessors. He called the third council for the purpose of systematising the Buddhistic beliefs, and appears to have been an earnest follower of that faith.

In the latter part of the second century B. C., Tu-

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 262.

ian tribes began to work down from the northern coun-
s through the mountain passes into the Punjab, and
t before the commencement of the Christian era, they
ceeded in subjecting all northern India. They adop-
the Buddhistic religion, and their most famous chief-
a summoned the fourth Buddhist council. His capital
s in Cashmere, and the form of Buddhism that his coun-
adopted had mixed with it many features of the old
ranian beliefs, so that there arose two forms of Buddhism,
practiced in the north of India and one further south.[1]

There seems to have been continual warfare for
remacy between the Aryan and Turanian races for the
t five hundred years. There was no Aryan chieftain
le to form a confederacy of tribes powerful enough to
ve out the Turanian, though a number made strong
empts to do so. Among the most prominent of these,
re the Vikramaditya and Salavahana, the former of
m was a great patron of literature and the arts. In
mbay, the Sak dynasty of chieftains ruled from 60 to
5 A. D. In Oude and Northern India, the Gupta dy-
sty ruled from 319 to 470 A. D. The Valabhi dynasty
mentioned as ruling in Cutch, Malwa, and the north-
stern districts of Bombay from 480 to 722 A. D. The
ns are known to have been in Northern India about
0 A. D. And so we have about all that is known of
dian history down to the time when the Iranians were
quered by the Islamites. As we glance over these few
ords of the past, how plainly it appears that "India
s no place in the political history of the world."[2]

We are not for a moment to suppose, however, that
Indo-Aryans mildly submitted to every foreign yoke
t was placed upon them. No matter who the inva-

[1] Hunter, p. 52. [2] "Early Sanskrit Literature," p. 51.

ders were, we find that the Brahmans still remained the priests of the land, the Rajas were still rulers over their own tribes, and the Vaisyas still cultivated their fields, usually unmolested even in times of war. When at last the Mohammedan ruler appeared with his armies, he



Raja and his Court.

found it no easy task to gain a lasting foothold in India; and, at no time, did he succeed in forcing his religion upon these people. Mohammedan expeditions against India began A. D. 636, and the "Hindoo power in Southern India

t completely broken till the battle of Tarrain in
Akbar the Great succeeded in organizing and
aining a strong government only by incorporating
of the Hindoo chieftains into it. The Hindoo spirit
olt, manifested in what is called the Mariatta em-
cy, began at once to undermine the government:
in less than two centuries, the successor of Akbar
puppet and a prisoner in the hands of the Hindoo
attas of Delhi."[1]

In the time of Alexander the Great, we notice that the
nment of India was divided between a number of tribal
ains who, in the Punjab, had united into three great
deracies. When the Turanians descended the moun-
on their marches of pillage and conquest, they were
y no organized resistance, but were forced to conquer
ribe after another, until they had literally engulfed a
n of the country. When the Mohammedans attempt-
o supplant the religion of the Vedas by Islamism,
found themselves opposed by a host of independent
chieftains; and, no sooner was the subjugation thus
er was formed and appeared in a state of open rebel-

Thus was the government of the Mohammedans
mined and weakened. Though a large number of
ous converts were made, the government was never
le boast supremacy over the whole of Aryan India,
t it be in the time of Akbar the Great. When in
tter part of the last century, the English army ap-
d on the scene, the people of India were found still
ized in tribes, and governed by tribal chieftains.
English have pursued a wise policy. They have
ed such chieftains as were able and willing to govern
r to still remain independent, and have given the

[1] Lester, p. 100. [2] Ibid.

conquered a chance to assist in the government of British provinces. But from the earliest times to present day, the government of the Indo-Aryans has ne arisen beyond the typical tribal form of government.

In a country that has been peopled from time im morial by so many independent tribes as we have fo in India, it is almost impossible to trace the lineag the various tribes back to any distinct line of ancest We find that the Aryans who forced their way into I first became thoroughly mixed with the aborigines, p ably Dravidians. Then came in their Aryan breth from Greece and Iran and an intermixture of eas and western Aryan blood occurred. Later the Turani came in from the north and there was a third amalga formed. But over the whole of these barbaric trait character, customs, and race conditions, Aryan ene culture, and superior intelligence have predominated. T was produced the Aryan Hindoo. The early Aryan st had such vitality and superior force of character and m that the whole of Central and Northern Hindoostan came so completely Aryanized that the invading T nians were swallowed up and lost in this Aryan po lation.

The ancient Indians developed a vast body of lit ture, of which we must now attempt to gain an understa ing. We have seen how India has always been peop by a large number of independent tribes, and that th tribes spoke a large number of languages and dialects, we need not be surprised to learn that, when writing ca into vogue, a large number of alphabets were adopted these various tribes, in fact outnumbering "all the other phabets used in the remainder of the world."[1] These

[1] Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II. p. 285, London, 1883.

[illegible]bets are said to [illegible] a set of [illegible]
[illegible]ory, their development being [illegible]
[illegible] the religious and political [illegible] of the [illegible]
[illegible]g the last two thousand years. [illegible]
[illegible]ever, may be traced back to a single [illegible]
[illegible]e may be found in the [illegible] of the [illegible]



An Indian Princess.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Indo-Aryans. Vol. III. Chapter [illegible] The Aryans; [illegible] Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. [illegible] Keane [illegible]

The dates of the inscriptions of Asoca have been fixed with accuracy; but how long previous to his time the Indians had a system of writing, we can not tell. These inscriptions of which we speak, were transcribed into two different primitive alphabets. The inscription, known as the "Kapur-di-gire" inscription, is made with an Indo-Bactrian character, reading from right to left, while the remaining inscriptions employ an entirely different character. These two, as we have said, are at present the acknowledged source of the alphabets of India. Both are of Semitic origin, and "underwent a gradual evolution Finally a systematic redaction and arrangement was affected by scientific grammarians, who were acquainted with both alphabets."[1]

The composition of a portion of the literature of the Indo-Aryans dates away back into prehistoric times, long before the invention of an alphabet, when the hymns of the Rig-veda were chanted by the Rishis (bards), and when the prayers of the suppliant housefather were as effectual with the gods as those of the priest. This was before the Brahman priesthood had appeared, and before the blasting system of caste had become fully developed In their belief, great importance was attached to the idea of sacrifice and the greatest care was given to all its details, which required the services of those especially educated in this matter. It is plainly evident that, at a very early date, the religious ceremonies for each tribe had to be conducted by some rishi or priest. Then it became customary for each tribal chieftain to support a priest.[2] A

most perfect system of alphabetical notation in existence," and believes that further inquiry will show that the Indian alphabet is a local invention. Stanford's "Asia," p. 707.

[1] Taylor, p. 304-5.

[2] Each modern Hindoo family, not Brahman, has its priest, wh

[illegible] finally came when [illegible] enough to demand [illegible] [illegible] ligious services.

When the [illegible] had [illegible] [illegible] seemed to have [illegible] [illegible] of the tribal church. [illegible] necessary to every head of a family as well as every tribal chieftain by taking [illegible] of the [illegible]. They collected all of the [illegible] tribes and families and [illegible] [illegible] thus [illegible] the [illegible] of the Aryan race.[1] Now [illegible] that [illegible] as the [illegible] to abolish [illegible] would [illegible] what we [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] every day and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] performed by the members of the [illegible] [illegible] of the worship as they choose. [illegible] p. 5.

[1] Ibid. p. 6.

[2] Ibid. 497-501. Wilkins: "Hitopadesa," p. 1. [illegible] and Aufrecht's translation of Kaegi "Rig-Veda," p. [illegible] Bombay, 1869.

the special Soma sacrifices. Both the Yajur an Sama-vedas contained hymns also found in the Rig-ved and manifested the handiwork of an organized priesthoc in their arrangement for special religious ceremonies. Tl Atharva-veda is a later production, and has been calle the spell, or charm veda, because many texts of it we used as spells or charms. It is hard for us to concei how this great mass of literature, consisting of sever thousand verses of poetry, could have been compose collected, and arranged in so exact and definite a shap Such nevertheless was the fact.

It was a self imposed duty for every rishi to comm all this to memory before his education was complete and every such priest was, as Muller says, an individu copy of the great unwritten Veda book,[1] and could l read only by repeating what he had learned to anothe The Vedas were composed in the ancient Sanskrit la guage, which at that time had reached a stage of pe fection that has never since been attained by an inflect language. In time, this form of speech became virtual a dead language, and the Vedas were understood only l the priests whose business it was to learn them. Lat there arose schools of priests, who devoted themselves a life long study of this literature, and who had nothi to do but to think and meditate upon its teaching

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 377.

[2] Monier Williams: "Religious Thought and Life in India," Lo don, 1883, p. 8; Barth: "Religion of India," p. 2. The above gives the probable *relative* order in which the various *Sanhitas* or collectio were made. We want to caution the reader on two points, 1. We mu not suppose that the oldest *Sanhita* contains the primitive stage Aryan religious thought. The ideas it contains are the results of ma centuries of growth. 2. Some of the later collections may embody mu nearer the popular ideas of the Aryan people. See this subject discus in Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," London, 1887, Chapter vii.

[3] Müller, Op. cit.

The Hindoo is character

The descendants of

numerous. They had en

nothing to do but a simi

were the religion of the

were confined to the ma

the divine, or else to the

for the unknown. Their

cient. There was a yea

Being, if happy he might be

subject, so basic, was fre

and the rishis philosophized upon it when they were in-

structing their pupils. At last it became a settled opinion

among them that a spirit breathed through all material

things. This spirit vivifying their own bodies was ac-

cordent to all the gods and supreme above all. They

called this spirit Brahman, which comes from a root mean-

ing

of the word Brahman

W

the

explanation of the old Vedic hymns were made from time

to time, but were composed in prose. These were called

Brahmanas. Then there came a time when it was found

necessary to make a collection of these Brahmanas and

arrange them with reference to the different Vedas. For a

1 Ibid. p. 24. 2 "Religions Thought," p. 31.

3 A comparative study of Brahmanism will be made later.

4 Lang, Op. cit. p. 24.

was found that the now numerous tribes of priests had almost as many rituals of worship as there were tribes.[1]

This collection when completed and arranged showed a growth of at least two centuries in the history of the Indian people.[2] Nor did this growth stop here, but, after another period of about the same length of time, the results of later meditations of these Brahman priests were collected and arranged with reference to the four Vedas. This collection forms what is known as the Upanishad.[3] The Brahmanas seem to contain the ritualism, and the Upanishads, the philosophy of Brahmanism. The whole forms a vast collection of very ancient literature, that even modern Hindoos believe to be inspired or revealed.

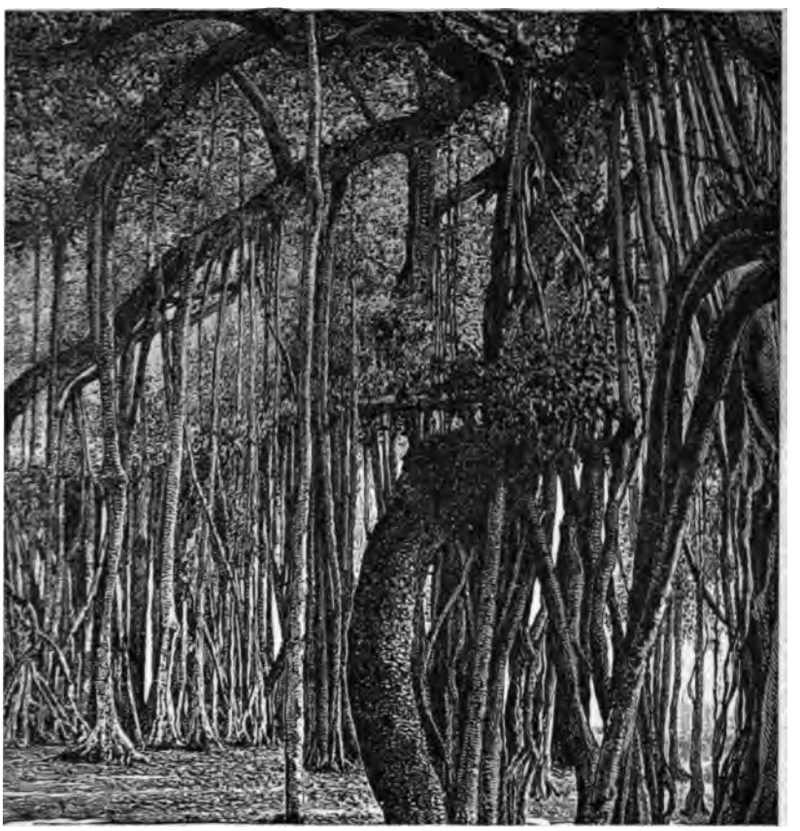
Right here, it is well for us to understand that the literature of the Indo-Aryans is divided into two great classes. The first comprises such compositions as were directly revealed by Brahman himself to the old and sacred rishis—that is what they heard—and by them transmitted orally, word for word, down through a line of priests until finally it was allowed to be placed in writing. The second class consists of various and extensive works composed at a later date by Brahmans, but claiming mere tradition for their only authority. They had, however, to be based on revealed truth, with which they must harmonize. The first class comprised the Mantras, Brahmanas, and Upanishads of Vedic literature already described. They are called Sruta or "that which is directly heard or revealed." The other authorized writings are termed Smriti or "recollection."[4] The most important work in the last class is

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 437.

[2] Ibid. 435. [3] "Religious Thought," p. 26.

[4] Williams: "Indian Wisdom," p. 154. Also "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 86.

entitled the "Laws of Manu." We can point to no one person as the compiler of these laws, nor can we fix any definite period when they were completed. Parts of the collection may have been composed as early as the fifth century B. C. This code of laws, belonged to a certain school



Banyan or Sacred Fig-tree.

r family of Brahmans, called Manavas, and tradition ascribed its authorship to one Manu, who is mentioned i he Vedas as the first man. It is regarded as one of the nost remarkable literary productions of all ages. Though riginally a local code, it finally became the law of all

Brahmans. There were two other authorized codes of law, but they never reached the celebrity of the code of Manu, which regulated the domestic life of the Indo-Aryans and made it comform to their religion. "The root of all law," says Manu, "is the Veda and the traditions of those who know the Veda." Thus can we see how intimately the religious and the social life of the Indo-Aryans were connected.[1]

When we come to the study of the religions of India, we shall see how Buddhism sprang rapidly into popularity and drew thousands away from the schools of the Brahmans. Like true philosophers, the Brahmans sought out the peculiar principles of Buddhism that made it a religion of the people, and then endeavored to supplant it with their own belief adapted to the popular mind. The minds of the people who had not the time to commit the Vedas could not comprehend the abstract and the ideal god, Brahman, and so they continually reverted to their earlier conceptions.

In order to satisfy this longing after a more simple constellation of gods, the Brahmans caused all the old poems of the heroic age, when the Aryans were fighting their way into the Punjab, to be collected, adapted to Brahmanism, and arranged in two grand heroic poems called the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The heroes, of whom the ancient bards sang, were deified and made the descendants of the god, Brahman, himself. The people were thus given many gods, and gods that they could come

[1] "Religious Thought," p. 52. If we recall that among many people the name of the first law-giver bears a close resemblance to this name—*e. g.* Menes, among the Egyptians; Men, in India; Minos, in Crete; and that from it are derived many words meaning Wisdom; *e. g.* Minerva, goddess of wisdom, Mens in Latin; Mind in English—we will probably agree with Higgins that Menu meant simply Divine Wisdom. "Anacalypsis." p. 319.

near unto and worship, while the thoughtful and learned Brahman continued to meditate upon, and strive to lose himself in that essence of being, the Divine Self or Spirit.[1]

One of the most singular features in the civilization of the Indian Aryans is the system of caste. Nothing quite like this has ever been found elsewhere. The origin of caste probably goes back to the very beginning of Vedic times, though we do not find it developed into a rigid system before the close of the Vedic Age. The word which the Indo-Aryans used to denote caste meant color, and gives us the probable key to the system. The Aryans did not exterminate the tribes of aborigines, whom they found in possession of the Punjab when they came down from the mountains of Central Asia. They conquered these swarthy Turanian tribes and made them slaves. But they no more thought of mingling socially with these slaves than did the old southern planters with their black servants in the days of American slavery. In fact, they despised them and hated them, called them Dasyus, "the black skins," "the raw eaters," and all the vilest epithets that their language could frame and their tongues utter.[2]

This was the first indication of caste; and, at that time, the people were divided into two casts only, the Aryans and non-Aryans. We have now to consider the formation of caste within the Aryan tribes themselves. Let us begin with the priestly class the Brahmans. We have dwelt with sufficient fullness on the savage priesthood. We have seen that such priests are found among all people. As civilization advances, these Shamans of rude tribes tend always to form a closely connected body.

1 Ibid. 41-5.
2 Hunter: "Annals of Rural Bengal," p. 112-13.

Among all people, they are a much respected and generally feared body. They are respected because they are always a learned body, and, as a general rule, use their power to advance the interests of their tribe. They are feared because they are generally supposed to possess magical powers, and able to bless or curse. Such a body of priests always tends to usurp, more and more, the rights of the various orders of chiefs to conduct worship. Generally speaking, we have seen that any one holding a position of authority within the tribe was, ex-officio, a priest. The housefather offered sacrifices for his household, the gens-chief for the gens and so on.

In the course of development, then, there was sure to come a time when the priestly body, of whom we have just spoken, would try to usurp this authority. In almost all cases they succeeded. Almost all the European Aryans were ruled in religious matters by Druids or similar bodies. The Magi among the Medes was an equally strong body. The priesthood among all Semitic people has possessed great power and influence. The Israelites formed no exception to this rule. It is not singular, then, that the Aryans who entered India should come under the workings of this same law. The more so when we reflect that the tribes they subjugated undoubtedly had numerous influential Shamans.

The Vedas show the presence and guiding hand of such a priesthood. The very collection of hymns, betraying a spirit no doubt far above that of the mass of the people, could only have been made by such a learned body. To get the full benefit of the sacrifices, they must be performed by an adept.[1] We find, even in the Vedas,

[1] "The Vedic sacrifices are but ceremonial magic," Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. xxxii.

that princips families were expected to support a family priest. It is not singular, then, that in process of time, we find this priestly class drawing to themselves all religious functions; they called themselves *Brahmans*, from *Brahma*, he who pronounced *Brahm*, or prayers. We may admit that there was opposition on the part of some officials to this course, still the change was doubtless of very slow growth extending over many generations.

But, as stated some pages back, these Brahmans contented themselves with the field of religion. They did not care to interfere in the political field. But another principle was at work, which was to evolve the warrior class, and the laboring class. It was the same cause that gave rise, in early Roman history, to the Patricians and Plebeians, and to the two classes in early Greece, that was conquest, conquest of one Aryan tribe by another. Such must have occurred, and, among the invading Aryans, there must have been some more or less dependent and inferior tribes. Still further, it is self evident, that the conquest of the Punjab was not achieved at once, probably successive waves of invading tribes arrived on the scene who would gain supremacy over their predecessors. It is further evident, that these conquered tribes would not be allowed the full measure of rights and privileges assumed by the conquerors. And, just as in the case of the Patricians at Rome and the Eupatridæ in Greece, the master tribes of the Aryans would claim and exercise the rights of government and of warfare, while the conquered tribes would become the laborers. This would give us two more castes, the Kshatriyas, or warriors, and the Vaisyas, or laborers.

But in order to give you some notion of the peculiarities of caste as known in India, I will transcribe

to forbid marriages between the classes, and to give the whole system the sanction of religion. All this took, of course, many years to accomplish. Minute rules were adopted, the violation of which involved the loss of caste. The priesthood were active in this matter, and though arrogating to themselves the most favored position, arranged the various divisions in an unyielding system, forbid as far as possible intercourse between them, and assigned to each division a peculiar religious standing. We only need to add that the final result was due to causes at work long before and during the entire Vedic period.

If the Aryans of India have not been able to exercise any very great influence in the political history of the world, they have certainly exercised a most tremendous influence in the culture history. Only in modern times are we beginning to understand this, and to give these "Meditative Aryans" their share of honor. The modern Aryan world is separated from this ancient world by such a prolonged interval of time; and the clamors of wars and conquests, and the rise and fall of nations have so blinded those historians who record only passing political events, that we have almost forgotten where to look for the origin of various systems of philosophical thought, both religious and scientific. We are of the opinion, that future discoveries will tend to show more and more that to the Aryans of India belongs this honor. The time has not yet come for a full demonstration of this, yet enough is known to render it probable.

In the field of science, for instance, it is now known that they invented the decimal system of notation[1] and Algebra.[2] The Arabic writer on Algebra, who has been

[1] Draper: "Religion and Science," p. 115.
[2] "Encyclopedia Britannica," art. "Algebra."

given the credit of originating it, is known to have traveled in India to gain his knowledge.[1] In addition to the forgoing, they are known to have made considerable progress in Geometry. The famous theorem of the square of the hypothenuse etc. is found engraved on the *Goparama* of the majority of the great pagodas.[2] Euclid, the great geometer, arranged in his work many theorems first worked out by the Brahmans of India. In Astronomy, although many people professed to have had very good ideas of Astronomy in early times, yet the claims of the Hindoos apparently rest on a solid foundation.[3]

It is claimed for them that they fixed the Calendar, invented the Zodiac, calculated the equinoxes, and predicted the eclipes.[4] The French astronomer, Legentil, who visited India in 1767, was given a set of tables going back to 3100 B. C.[5] Let it not be forgotten that the theory of the revolution of the earth around the sun, as taught by Pythagoras, was an Indian theory.[6] Even some of the theories of modern science seem to have been first enunciated in India. The modern doctrine of evolution is clearly stated in the following from the "Bhagavata:" "When this world had issued out of darkness, the subtle elementary principles produced the vegetal seed which animated first the plants; from the plants, life passed into fantastical bodies, which were born in the *illus* of the

1 Ibid. "Preliminary Dissertations."

2 "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. p. 618.

3 "Encyclopedia Britannica," art. "Astronomy."

4 "Isis Unveiled," Vol. I. p. 618.

5 Yet in Chaldea, Astronomy had made considerable advance, probably before the Aryans had arrived in India. Nothing is to prevent the supposition, that the Indians greatly advanced the theoretical parts of this science.

6 Draper: "Religion and Science," p. 156.

waters, then through a series of forms and various animals, it reached man.[1]

When we enter the field of Philosophy, it is certainly true that all forms of philosophical creeds converge to India. This is such a broad field, that to give it anywhere near justice, we must reserve it for a separate chapter. We will here simply give an historical outline of the development of religious thought in India. We must take into account the probable culture of the Dravidian tribes of India. There is probably danger of giving the Aryan invaders of India too high a standing as regards religious culture. But it is undoubtedly true, that they would be influenced by the religious culture of the Dravidians. At the present day, these aborigines in India furnish a good illustration of savage philosophy. They believe in spirits swarming everywhere about them, and the usual accompaniments of such beliefs, that is a belief in magic and sorcery.[2]

The Aryans, themselves, must once have been on this same level of thought. Indeed the Vedas show the plainest traces of it all the way through.[3] It is evident that, as they spread over the Punjab, this stage of feeling will tend to revive. When the priestly caste was once fairly formed, there would likely grow up a system of forms and ceremonies suitable for the mass of the people, abounding in magic rites, symbols, and many gods. But this religion we must understand, had an exoteric and an esoteric side, according as we look at the public belief, or the secret doctrines

[1] "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 260 It is scarcely necessary to caution the reader that some mythological conceptions may in form come near modern theories with a scientific basis. It is well to receive with caution such statements as the foregoing.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 307. See Hunter: "Annals of Rural Bengal." He calls this system of philosophy "Demon worship." It is the same philosophy that we have already discussed.

[3] Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion."

aught by the priests. This system is known as Brahmanism, and will be fully studied in its proper place. Briefly expressed, we may say, that Brahmanism professes to have for its foundation the religion of the Vedas. But the Vedas, at the time when Manu's code of laws was compiled and adopted, consisted of a growth of literature through at least eight centuries.[1]

We must distinguish between ancient Brahmanism and the Hindoo religion after the Brahmanical revival of the eighth century A. D. The one is pure Brahmanism and the other modern Hindooism. They are very different. We are considering the former only at present. Ancient Brahmanism, then, as set forth in the laws of Manu, established the existence of a divine, supreme spirit god, called Brahman. The four-fold system of caste was the basis of all social and religious organization. The Brahman, as priest, was infinitely superior to all other beings, and alone could perform sacrifices or teach the Vedas. The Kshatriyas ranked next, and the Vaisyas were still lower. Members of these three castes were called the twice-born, and they alone could share the benefits of religion.

The only duty of the Sudra, or fourth caste, was to "serve meekly these other three castes."[2] "The very birth of a Brahman is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law, for he is born to fulfill the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman," the god.[3] "The whole Veda is the first source of the sacred law, next the traditions and the virtuous conduct of those who know the Veda further, also the customs of holy men, and, finally, self-satisfaction. For that man who obeys the law prescribed in the revealed

1 "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 572.
2 *Vide* "Bhagavad Gita," p. 261. 3 "Laws of Manu," p. 260.

texts, and in the sacred tradition, gains fame in this world and after death unsurpassable bliss."[1] The bliss of the departed referred to in the text was attained through transmigration of the soul. The good Brahman priest would thus attain union with his god Brahman, while every good man of the twice born race would, according to the acts of this life, attain birth in a better or worse state of life, thus could he finally attain a blissful state.[2]

Such a cold, rigid form of religion was not suited to the wants of an uncultured people; and its spirituality was beyond the conceptions of any save the Brahman, who could spend a lifetime in meditation in order to attain the desired union with the divine "Self." The priests alone were the mild-eyed philosophers whom Megasthenes[3] found conversing upon life and death under the beautiful groves of the Punjab, while the mass of the people were suffering under a grinding yoke of religious oppression. During all these centuries of ancient history of the Indo-Aryans, not only did occasional tribes rebel, and prefer freedom of conscience at the price of ostracism from society rather than Brahmanical oppression and a surety of future bliss; but numerous reformers arose at various times, flourished, and died, the most of them leaving scarcely more than their names to mark the period of their lives. Traditional history mentions six such re-

1 "Laws of Manu," Vol. ii. p. 6 and 9.

2 Manu, xii. 39, 85. No system of philosophy has been able to entirely clear away the animistic ideas of an earlier state of society. The complicated polytheism of Greece cut very little figure in the popular religion of the people. The same remarks doubtless apply to Brahmanism in India. The priestly system cut very little figure in the worship of the common people.

3 "History of Indian People," p. 77. It is probable that the "Brahmans" of Megasthenes, were a Buddhist sect; King: "Gnostics and their Remains," p. 54, London, 1887.

formers, and most of them were of the Kshatriya caste.[1] But of these six, there was one who has left a name prominent above all Indo-Aryan names; and who founded a religion, that has more followers to-day than any other system of belief.[2] We refer to Gautama, who afterward received the name of Buddha or "the Enlightened."[3]

Buddha flourished during the fifth century B. C. He was the son of a ruling chief, and would have been next in line of succession. At the age of twenty-nine, he chose rather to sever himself from home and kindred, and to assume the robe of an ascetic than to himself submit to Brahmanical oppression, and see the great mass of people burdened by oppressive, tyrannical laws. The great mission of Buddha seems to have been to try to elevate the condition of all mankind, and to preach the doctrine of free salvation, (peace of soul) to all, no matter what their social condition; no matter whether male or female. He was born in the very heart of Brahmanism, but there seems to have been a rising sentiment of free thought throughout the Brahman territory, and Buddha seems to have been the prophet arising at the right time to champion this sentiment. Gautama first spent six years of austerities and penance wandering in the forests and jungles. Then, after passing through a season of temptation, sitting serene under the sheltering branches of the sacred fig-tree, while according to tradition, demons beset him with all manner of temptations, a sweet and peaceful calm came over his mind. He felt himself no longer subject to temptation. He was thereafter Buddha, the "enlightened," and saw clearly that henceforth he was to leave the jungle and the hermit's

[1] "Indian Wisdom," p. 50.

[2] "Brief History of India," p. 64.

[3] A full discussion of Buddhism will follow in its proper place.

cell, and go forth to preach reform. The remaining ye of his long life were spent in wandering up and down t banks of the Ganges, preaching his good tidings, oc sionally spending a few months in some bamboo gro where he taught the multitudes who thronged to hear l words.

The Brahmans declared that it was sacrilegious any except a member of his own caste to teach, and tl all knowledge must be based on the Vedas. Buddha longed to the Kshatriya caste, and utterly ignored t the Vedas,[1] so he was ostracised from the start by t ruling caste. First of all, he did away with all manner sacrifices, and set aside the claims of the Brahman pric hood. He taught that happiness hereafter depended up the good acts of our own lives, so that virtue, morali kindness, charity, patience, fortitude, meditation, a knowledge, all bore their fruits, and tended toward t perfection of the soul. The three great duties of Buddhi were, "control over self, kindness to other men, and r erence for the lives of all sentient creatures."[2]

The reward of a good life was alike open to all ma kind, no matter what the caste or what the race. Tl reward was the attainment of "Nirvana" which has be translated as "eternal rest," "cessation," union with t the universal "Spirit" of Brahman. We see that tl opened a great fountain of hope for all people, and manner of men, from the Brahman to the slave, flock around the great teacher to hear his wonderful wor The anathemas of the Brahmans could not affect the tea ings of the Buddha. He seemed to be inspired with

[1] This statement is rather strong, as will be shown in its pro place. Buddhism was a reform on Brahmanism, and Buddha aim rejected this binding authority and the conclusions of the Vedas.

[2] Hunter: "History of Indian People," p. 67.

sort of magnetism that drew all men to him, and his life was so consistent that none could fail to be impressed with the doctrines he taught. At the age of four score years, he died, and passed into peaceful possession of the Nirvana that he had so patiently longed for.

Buddhism was free to all castes, and to all nations. Early in his life as preacher, Buddha sent forth chosen disciples to preach his religion. About two centuries after his death, we find that Buddhism had spread to such a degree, that it was championed by some of the most powerful chieftains, and among others Asoca. He extended his authority over the best portion of Hindoostan, and caused edicts, proclaiming Buddhism as the national religion and setting forth its peculiar tenets, to be inscribed on rocks and pillars all over India. He called a council to draft a settled faith. He founded monasteries and supported thousands of Buddhist priests. He has been called the "Constantine" of Buddhism. This religion itself was the first missionary religion. As early as the year of Buddha's death, it is claimed that missionaries planted his religion upon the island of Ceylon.[1]

Many parts of India that knew nothing of the Brahmans were penetrated by Buddhist priests and this religion was proclaimed. In Orissa, there are remains of several monk caverns that must have been occupied by Buddhist priests at an early date. This new religion spread to the south and carried a great Aryan influence among the Dravidians of the lower table land region. Missionaries went into Thibet and China, and wherever they went, they were received gladly by all people who, in all cases, readily accepted their teachings.[2]

[1] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 289.

[2] It is now satisfactorily proved that by the time of Asoca, Buddhist

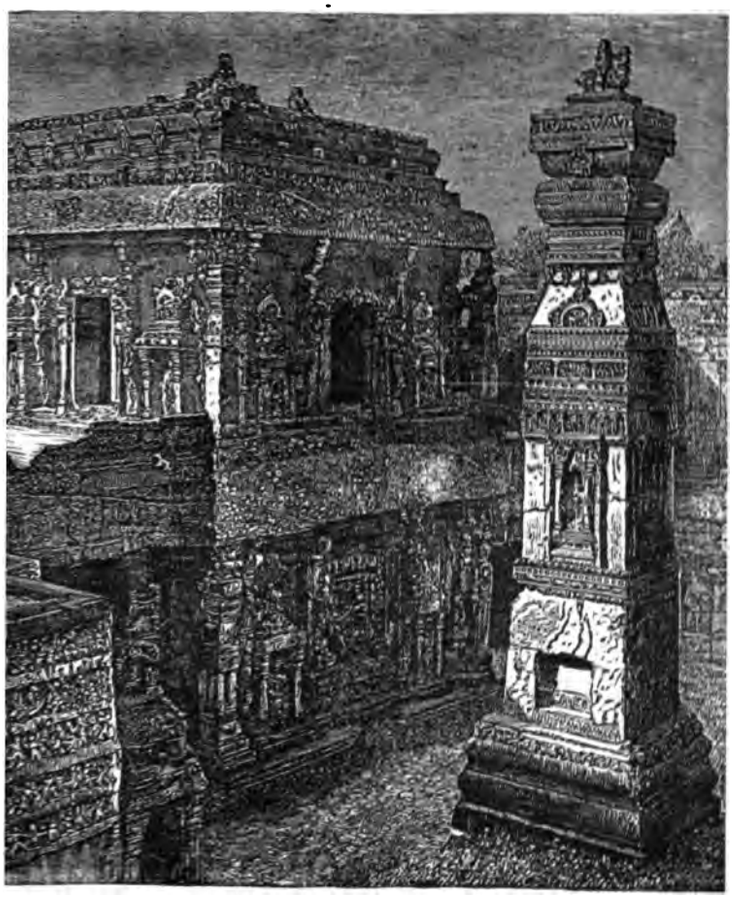
The Turananian ruler, Kanish, also did much to spread the doctrines of Buddhism far and wide, so that we find remains of Buddhist temples scattered all over India; but many of these were erected at a later date when Buddhism had become corrupted by outside influence. At Katmandu in Nepal, we find temples as represented by an accompanying illustration. The most ancient relics of Buddhism however are to be found in the cave temples in the vicinity of Ellora. "They are excavated on the west face of a plateau of tufa formation, terminating in a steep cliff, here and there furrowed by ravines and flanked by isolated mounds. To execute such works needed as many hands as were employed upon the pyramids of Egypt." They stretch in succession to the north and south for a distance of four thousand yards, and are so numerous that it would take several days to inspect them all. They range in age from the time of Buddha until the age of later Brahmanism. Those built in later times are the most elaborate. Among these, is the Palace of Kailas, which is called an architectural marvel cut in live rock and entirely detached from the hills. Its columns are carved elephants and other enormous animals. They support a vast monolithic roof two-hundred and fifty feet long, one-hundred and fifty feet wide, and one-hundred feet thick.

The east gate of the Sanchi Tope also is worthy of particular mention. Its date is an unsettled question, but Mr. Ferguson thinks that it belongs to the earlier stage of Buddhist architecture.[1] It is remarkable for the figures of men and animals sculptured upon it, the most natural of which are the elephants and peacocks. A better idea

missionaries had spread the doctrines throughout all of Western Asia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. This influence will be traced in its proper place.

[1] "Ancient Architecture in Hindoostan," p. 27.

be gained from the accompanying illustration than any description. Indian architecture begins about me of Asoca, while the more elaborate temples belong e Hindoo period, or to the revival of Brahmanism.

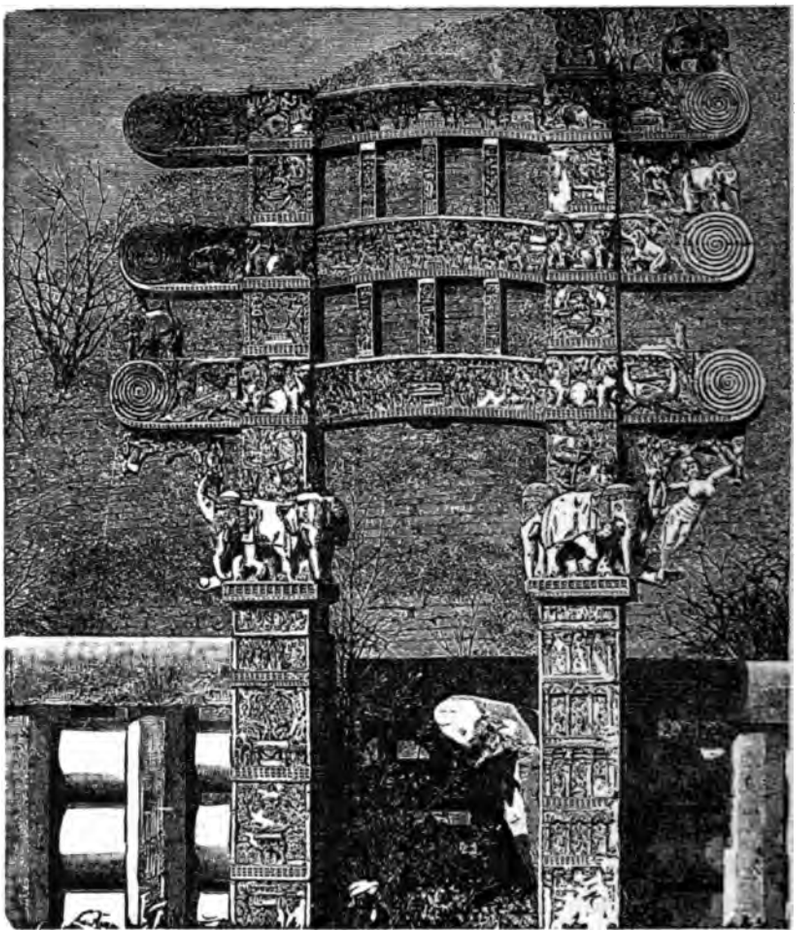


Palace of Kailas.

lism continued to flourish in India until about 1000

It at no time completely supplanted Brahmanism he two flourished side by side and finally merged into looism. Even then, however, Buddhism was represen- by a sect of worshipers called Jains who have many

temples scattered all over India. Among the localities most noted for these temples, are Mount Abu and Sunagarh. It must be remembered that they belong to a later stage of architecture than that of the Buddhist rock cut caves mentioned above.



Great Sanchi Gate.

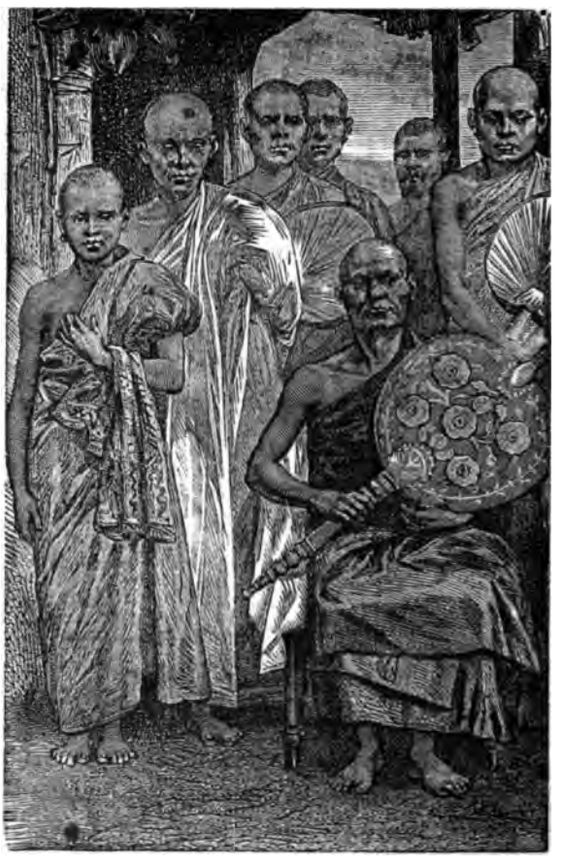
The two great religions of India, Brahmanism and Buddhism, each for a season seemed to satisfy the people. The latter was much the more popular for twelve centuries,

between the time of Gautama and the seventh century A. D., and it threatened to completely destroy the former. It had the advantage of the support of the chieftains ruling during almost the whole of this period. "The vast monastery of Nalanda formed at of learning which recalls the Christian abbeys and universities of medieval Europe.[1] This was supported from the royal purse and sent out large numbers of missionaries into other fields of labor. Thus did Indo-Aryan thought, culture, and religious belief penetrate the surrounding world; and cells of early Buddhist monks may be found of the mountain ranges that surround India on its northern sides. But Buddhism was not proof against the influences of earlier superstitions and became greatly corrupted as the pure life and example of their great teacher gradually fainter and fainter, receding in the mists of time. Then, too, the Brahmans did not lose patience nor did they recede one jot nor one tittle from their demands. They demanded that a man should acknowledge the inspiration and supremacy of the Vedas and also recognize the laws of caste. They cared not what else he believed.[2] Therefore they adopted into their religion all popular features of every other religion. Theirs was not a proselyting creed, but all manner of policy was resorted to in order to keep their own believers true to their religion. In this endeavor at popularizing Brahmanism the old Vedic gods are almost forgotten.[3] We perceive that there is a decided change in the gods that are worshiped. The old Vedic gods Indra, Agni, and Varuna give place to Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. Under various names, these three gods form the Hindoo pantheon, and

[1] Hunter: "Indian People," p. 72.
[2] Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 53.
[3] Wilkins: "Modern Hinduism," p. 43-5.

numerous images of the trinity may be seen in the va temples of India; the most remarkable is in the cav Elephanta on an island off the coast near Bombay.

In the modern Hindoo, we detect an ethnical mi of Aryan, non-Aryan, and later Turanian.[1] Modern



Buddhist Priests from Ceylon.

dooism, as a state of society, is based upon caste. It ligion is a union of many creeds and beliefs, associate the various attributes of their trinity of gods, Brahı Vishnu, and Siva. The god Brahman is the peculiar

1 "Early Indian People," p. 81.

of the highest, or Brahman caste. Vishnu, the second member of the trinity, is a purely Vedic god, while Siva appears to be as purely an aboriginal deity, and is worshiped by the great majority of Indian people.[1]

"The Hindoo religion is a reflection of the composite character of the Hindoos, who are not one people, but many. It has held out the right hand of brotherhood to the fetich worshiping aborigines of India, it has permitted a descent to the most degrading cults of the Dravidian races; while at the same time, it has ventured to rise from the most groveling practices to the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation; it has not hesitated to drink in thoughts from the very fountain of Truth; and owes not a little to Christianity itself."[2] The Hindoo religion represents a growth through many centuries, and throghout all this time we notice the controlling influence of the great masters of thought, the Aryan Brahmans. From the time that the priesthood became first established, these Brahman priests watched the growth of the Hindoo religion with jealous care. They rejected what would tend to limit the power of the priest; they utilized everything that would tend to make their religion popular. They were patient, yet aggressively persevering when in political disfavor.

They moulded not only the religion of modern Hindooism, but also its entire social fabric. With a resident of India, not to be a Hindoo is to be a social outcast. The most degraded Sudra, considers his social condition far superior to the most enlightened foreigner, and will

[1] "Annals of Bengal," p. 127.

[2] Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 58-9. In many respects this is too strong a statement. The fetich worship and degrading cults are, in many cases, survivals of early Aryan stages. It is not believed they have borrowed from Christianity. Higging: "Anaclypsis,"

avoid associating with him as much as possible. Hindooism has furnished the inspiration for the greatest specimens of Indo-Aryan art. Upon the revival of Brahman power, Buddhist shrines were converted into Hindoo tem-



Buddhist Temple, Himalaya Mountains.

ples; and to satisfy the desire of the Hindoos for the grand and the beautiful, still more magnificent structures were erected to cover the shrines of the various gods. In Orissa we find Bhuvaneswar, the temple city of Siva, and the

wagon shaped temple of Jagganath. Indeed Orissa is the Holy Land of the Hindoo, and thousands of pilgrims journey hither every year to be present at the various festivals and celebrations.

In reviewing then the growth of civilization in India, we see how a small handful of Aryan emigrants went down into the Punjab and became completely cut off from their brethren to the northwest and from all other outside influences. They found the country peopled by tribes whose civilization is yet in doubt. The gods of these people, they elevated to a place in the Vedic pantheon. In this contact, the civilization of the Aryan conquerors and that of the people already settled there, of course, mutually influenced each other. By Aryan thrift and industry, flourishing villages and walled cities sprang up all over the fertile river valleys. Although in numbers these Aryan tribes were not strong enough to spread their settlements all over Hindoostan, their superior intelligence and culture have, like the mite of leaven, leavened the whole lump. The savage hill tribes are no longer the degraded beings that the ancients knew. Dravidian India is no longer the home of the barbarian. All have felt the influence of the Aryan mind. It has made for the heathen of India a religion. It has built magnificent temples for the Dravidians. It has crowned the loftiest mountains of the world with temples and shrines. It has given five hundred millions of people a religion. Its influence has been felt from the lofty Himalayan summits to the "pearl drop on the brow of Ind," Ceylon, the Ophir of King Solomon of old. It has given the Indian world a social system that has defied the power of monarchs and the superstition of religion to break its bands.

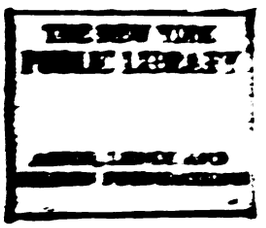
Despite the grinding oppresssion of caste the Hin-

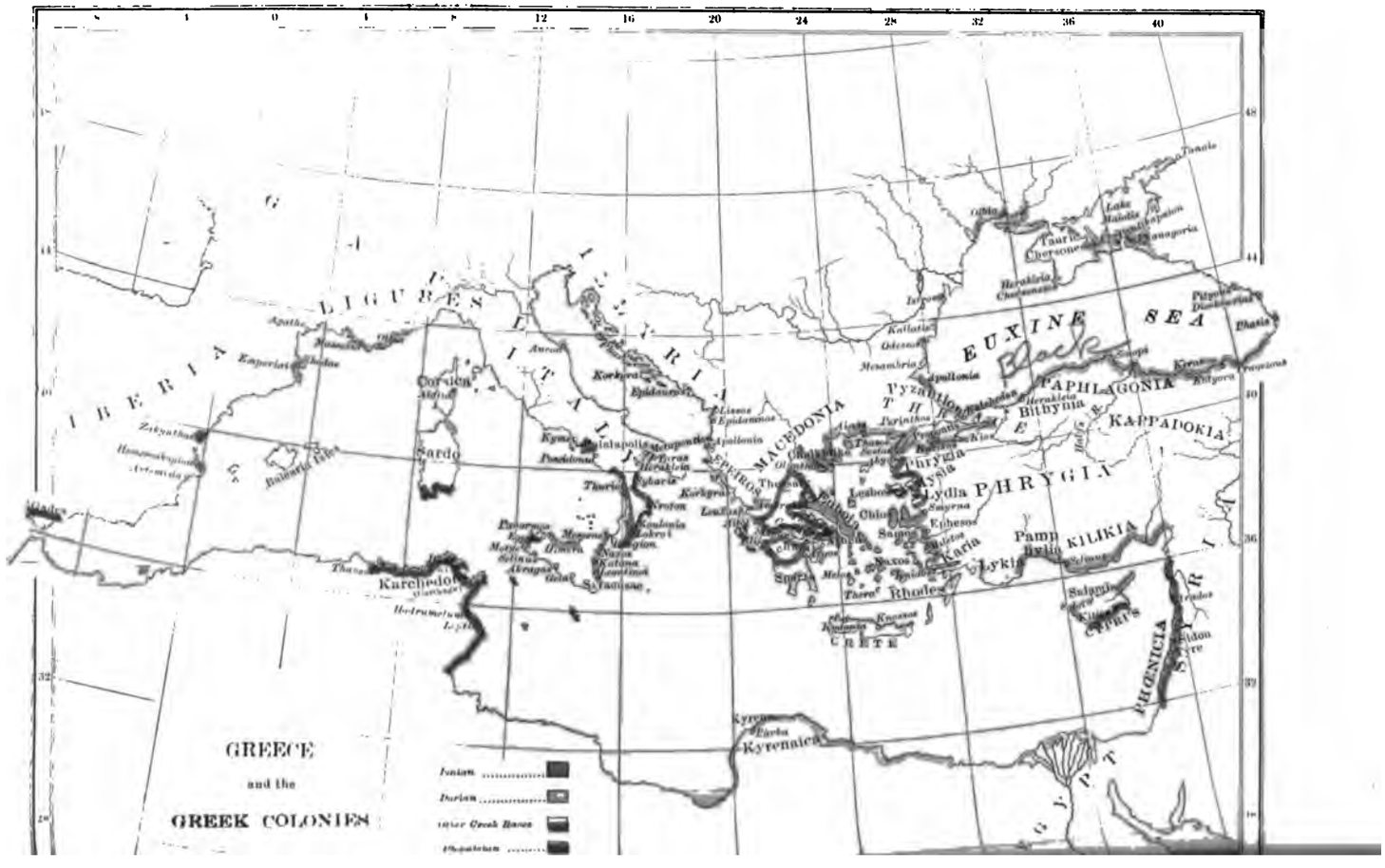
doo is not unhappy. No matter what his social condition he glories in it, for there are always others inferior to him in rank. He can not attain membership to a higher caste, but he is content. So ages passed in India. Finally the fanatic followers of Islam arrived, and the Hindoos saw neither freedom nor peace until the western Aryans came to their rescue, and the Indo-Aryan was restored to his much prized freedom of life and conscience.

Prof. Sayce, in his Greek edition of Herodotus, with English notes, London 1883, has brought out some new material in regard to Cambyses. It s ems that Cambyses was king of Babylon before the death of his father, Cyrus. There is considerable uncertainty as to the length of Cambyses' reign. We have contract tablets dated the eleventh year of his reign. Other writers make his reign eighteen and even nineteen years.



Monolith Island of Java.


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Sidon
Kyrenaica
Karchedon
Sardo
Corsica
Ionian
Dorian

CHAPTER III.

THE HELLENIC ARYANS

PELASGIANS—The Hellenes—Aryans of Asia Minor—The Phrygians—Explorations at Hissarlik—Ancient Troy—Relics from Hissarlik—Cyclopean Walls—Phoenician Influence—Early German Influence—Ancient Hellas—The Heroic Age—The Argonautic Expedition—The Poems of Homer—Beginning of History in Greece—Political Life in Ancient Greece—Religion in Ancient Greece—The Amphictyonic League—Early Settlements—The Dorian Migration—The Rise of the Spartans—The Period of Argolic Supremacy—Spartan Supremacy—Development of Athens—Stories of Solon—Important Cities of Ancient Greece—Greek Colonies—Other Aryan People—The Cimmerians—The Persian Invasion—Age of Pericles—Triumph of Sparta over Athens—Rise of Thebes—Rise of Philip of Macedon—Alexander the Great—Conclusion.



RESEARCH is fast reconstructing ancient and medieval history. The ading of inscriptions, the comparison of languages, and e spade of the archaeologist are so focusing upon the ges of history the rays of light that fall to us from the dim st of myth and tradition that new negatives are forming, ne of which produce only fancy pictures of the fruitful agination of nations in their childhood, while others por-y. in life-like colors, truthful ideas of olden times. But ny mysteries yet remain, the unknown is still more vast an the known, and, in the dim light of far away times, catch uncertain glimpses of many people and races of ich not yet much is known. Such a people are the

Pelasgians, of whom historians were wont to draw o fancy picture. They were said to be indigenous "the ren of the black earth."[1] Future discoveries may t more about them; but should we, with our present assign them a place in history, we can only conclud they were the offspring of those Aryan tribes that we nrst to penetrate into Greece, Thrace, and even re the shores of Asia Minor. The conquered Turanian ulation, that previously occupied these lands, wou many instances, furnish the mothers of a new race. mingled Aryan and Turanian blood would produce a terious people to whom it would be difficult, i day at least, to assign a racial place. Such appear to been the Pelasgians. They constituted those myst tribes of people that inhabited the shores of Europ the isles of the Mediterranean, and were wont, from to sweep down with their armaments upon the coa Egypt and the Valley of the Nile, to the fear and d of the Pharaohs. Aryan and yet Turanian, indigeno yet foreigners, thus, probably, arose these people wh so seriously puzzled historians.[2]

Historians of half a century ago readily grant mysterious Pelasgians a place among the early pe Southern Europe. They have been repeatedly ma ancestors of the Greeks and Latins. They are me among the defenders of Asia Minor against the Eg by both Rameses II. and Rameses III.[3] In t Homeric Epic[4] they are mentioned as inhabiting t of Asia Minor. Herodotus[5] refers to them in a nu places. He regards the Hellenic speech as a b

1 Curtius: "History of Greece," New York, 1871, Vol. I. p
2 See This Series, Vol. II. p 597, note 1.
3 Brugsch in "Ilios," p. 755-8. 4 "Iliad," book ii. l. 840. 5 B

he Pelasgic, thus giving the latter priority over the ormer, though he seems to have had little positive knowl- dge of the Pelasgians. Keane[1] says that "the Greek ribe itself, whose name was adopted by the Latins as the ollective designation of the whole race, appears to have been Pelasgian." He further classes all the Aeolian, Dorian, and Ionian dialects under the title of "Pelasgo-Hellenic." Canon Rawlinson[2] ranks the Pelasgic language with the Aryan family, and gives it as his opinion, that the Greek and Latin sprang from it to some extent.[3] Prof. Sayce[4] regards the Pelasgians as simply tribes of Aryan people, but refuses to class them as a particular family. He further detects a double meaning in the word. At first it may have applied to some particular tribes, but later Greek writers used it in a sense almost synonymous with our word "prehistoric."

Curtius[5] seems to have gained a clear idea of these mysterious people. According to him, they were husbandmen and herdsmen, who everywhere preceded the purer Greek stock as it spread throughout Hellas, the isles of the Aegaean, and Asia Minor. They formed the dark background from which the Hellenes arose. Curtius says distinctly, that the Ionians (the Hellenes of Attica) developed from this Pelasgic stock. Future research will probably sustain this view.[6] As Aryan tribes pushed

[1] Stanford's "Europe," London, 1885, p. 566.

[2] "Herodotus," New York, 1881, Vol. I. p. 541.

[3] It must be remembered that Rawlinson maintains the Asiatic origin theory, and holds that the route of migration from Asia to Europe was by the way of Asia Minor. ["Herodotus," Vol. II. p. 541.] Those who hold the Asiatic theory, however, no longer trace the route of migration through Asia Minor, for they are obliged to admit that *all the Aryans in Asia west of the Halys river are of European origin.* Sayce: "Elements of Comparative Philology," p. 389 *et seq.*

[4] In "Ilios," p. 127.

[5] "Griechische Geschichte," Berlin, 186[illegible] and I. s. 28 *et seq*

[6] This Series, Vol. II. p. 798.

southward from their Baltic homeland, the first mixtu with the Turanians would produce a people whose Ary blood would be very weak. Such were the Pelasgia As Aryan tribes spread to the west and southwest fr the Baltic region, a similar mixture produced the Cel On the east, the ancient Sarmatians represent just such weak mixture of Aryan with a super-abundance of T ranian blood.

Ancient people were always on the move; and, we shall see, the pressure of migration in Central Euro was always toward the south. As the population of H las was mixed again and again with purer Aryan blo from the north, a new and decidedly Aryan people a peared. These were the Hellenes, who derived the name from a mythical ancestor called Hellen. They earl developed into three types, or confederacies of kindre tribes, known as Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians. Th Ionians appear to have preceded the others in point o time. Curtius, as just stated, makes them descendants o the Pelasgians,[1] whom they followed from isle to isl across the Aegaean even to the southwestern shore of Asi Minor, where they had established themselves long before the time of the Trojan war. Thus was Hellenic or Greek influence established over the islands of the Aegaean, and the coast of Asia Minor, as well as in the Hellenic penin sula, at a very remote period.[2] The Ionians receive fre quent mention in the earliest parts of the Hebrew Scrip tures under the name of Javan.[3] Professor Brugsch-Be interprets the word *Hauneb*, that appears on the monu ments of Egypt, at a time previous to the eighteenth dy nasty (about 1700 B.C.), as "foreigners who chose their chief

[1] Curtius, Op. cit. s. 26. [2] Sayce: "Ancient Empires," p 212.
[3] Genesis x. 2, 4; I Chronicles i. 5-7; Isaiah lxxvi. 19.

order to accompany them
abitants of the islands
ating directly to the early G
ese name has the signific
There was another ro
yans to crowd over into
Hellespont. A Pelasgi
t developed over Thrace and the region
rpathian mountains and the Danube river.
ve after wave of Aryan tribes came pouring down from
e Baltic homeland, the resident population in this re-
n became pretty thoroughly Aryanized. The Thracians
re, no doubt, more purely Aryan than the Hellenes.

The Aryans pressed onward across the Hellespont
to Asia Minor, and there also arose a Pelasgic population.
t the great Semitic empires toward the east and south-
st, and Egypt on the south, were powerful enough to
eck this continual stream of Aryan migration, although
e Aryans of Asia Minor and Europe receive mention
mong the prominent enemies of Egypt. The earlier ad-
nce of Aryan migration in these directions being thus
ecked, there was developed a strongly Aryanized popu-
tion in Western Asia Minor by frequent intermixture
ith tribes coming later from the Aryan homeland. Indeed
ere seem to have been certain tribes of Germanized
rarians, known as Briges,[2] who crossed the Hellespont
such numbers that they formed in Asia Minor a power-
confederacy, or state, that has been called Phrygia, that

[1] We use this term as indicating the vanguard of Aryan migration
ard the south, and the population resulting from the first intermix-
of Aryan and Turanian blood.

[2] Karl Blind (appendix 4, "Troja," p. 356 says: "The Macedonians
said 'Aprodite' and 'Bilippos,' for 'Aphrodite' and 'Philippos,'
ed the Phrygians, Brig, Bryg, or Brykai, but there is no doubt
to this name, Bryges, Bryk, or Fryk, having meant a freeman a

embraced a large portion of Asia Minor within its borc

That the Phrygians were descendants of Thra who had crossed the Hellespont from Europe is nov mitted by the majority of recent students in this f Strabo[2] long ago declared this to be a fact. Recent st of their language confirms his statement, and their n shows their relationship to the old Germans, though it been subjected to Thracian influence.[3] After settling central portion of Asia Minor, the Phrygians bega spread toward the western coast. A portion of N western Asia Minor about eight miles long by four n broad possesses peculiar interest to the historian. was the famous plain of Troy, that has witnessec many changes in the history of the past. The nortl part of the Troad is washed by the waters of the He pont. Across this strait, lies the Thracian Chersone long, narrow peninsula stretching toward the south into the Mediterranean, as if to form an easy high for migrating bands to enter Asia from the west, c welcome Asiatic invaders into Europe.

The shores of the Aegaean on the west rise to average height of one hundred and thirty feet above sea level.[4] The various rivers of the Troad rise from slopes of Mount Ida, whose various branches ex throughout that portion of Asia Minor known as My The largest of these rivers is the Scamander, whicl

Frank.... I hold it possible that even Thrax, or Threik, as a Thr was called by the Greeks, may be connected with Frakk, Frank. Pl or Frigg, and free or frei."

[1] "Historical Geography," Vol. II. map no. ii.

[2] vii. ch. 295; x. ch. 471.

[3] Sayce: "Troja," p. xi; Blind: "Troja," p. 358.

[4] Schliemann: "Troy and its Remains," p. 69.

[5] Schliemann: "Ilios." New York, 1881, p. 66.

ancient times flowed directly past the walls of "sacred Ilios." The region of the Troad was once fertile, fruitful, and populous. Even in classical antiquity it supported at one time eleven cities and two villages. One of these cities whose acropolis stood on the hill of Hissarlik contained, according to estimate, over seventy thousand inhabitants. Were we to penetrate into the dim past of prehistoric times, we would discover that comparatively modern cities were built upon the ruins of seven prehistoric cities, a Lydian city, and three towns of the ninth century B. C.[1] The ruthless hand of time, however, has covered this once fruitful region with ruins and miserable villages, and, in places, has converted it into marshy, malarial breeding tracts.[2]

What scenes this region must have witnessed. The poets tell us that in olden times Jupiter sat on the highest peak of Mount Ida and witnessed the battles between the Greeks and the Trojans. The historian of to-day can see not only the strife between the Greeks and Trojans, but can also picture in his mind innumerable hosts of strange and restless people as they tramped in never ending armies across this highway between two continents. He will see vaster armies and witness fiercer battles than were witnessed by the gods of old, a never ending panorama of wealthy cities, invading hosts, slaughtered armies, smouldering ruins, and new and stronger walls successively rising upon the ruins of past grandeur. Sacred Ilios has been reclaimed and such is the story that she has to tell.

The Phrygians were the founders of ancient Ilios, whose acropolis stood on Hissarlik and whose territory spread away down upon the plain of Troy.[3] The most an-

[1] Schliemann: "Troja," New York, 1884, p. 345-6. [2] "Troy and its Remains," p. 71. [3] Sayce: "Troja," p. xi. Blind "Troja," p. 357-8.

cient records that we have referring to the ruin of that city are the Homeric poems—the Iliad and the Odyssey—attributed to the authorship of an ancient, blind poet who bore the name of Homer. But ours is an extremely skeptical age. The vague and highly improbably myths and stories, that formed the basis of all ancient history, have been questioned and cross questioned and sifted down in order to find facts upon which to base a reliable record of events. Much that was once accepted as history has been discarded as wholly unreliable.



In regard to these Homeric poems, Professor Sayce[1] says: "Herodotus must have understood by Homer all that mass of epic literature which in after times was called Cyclic, and distributed among various authors, together with the Homeric hymns In their present form, the Iliad and Odyssey bear traces of the age of Pericles; and the mass of epic and didactic literature, which went under the names of Homer and Hesiod, must have been of slow growth. Homer is a name rather than a person, and '*homeros*,' 'the fitted together,' is applied by Euripides to the marriage-bond." Thus can we see only darkly through the mist that time has thrown around the name and labors of one whom the later Greeks held as almost sacred.

A decade and a half ago, the skeptical had condemned these Homeric poems as utterly unfounded, and some had come to regard the story of the ill-fated city of Ilios as the wild picture of the disordered imagination of the poet.

[1] "Herodotus," London, 1883, Book ii. chapter 53, note 5.

But, in later years, there came the archæologist with his spade and cleared away the rubbish that had gathered around these old and storied cities. Behold the mythical clouds began to clear away, and there was revealed to the astonished world treasures and cities and records of forgotten times. Thus have "Blind Homer's" songs been proved to contain rich treasures of traditional lore, descriptive of real events of historical importance.[1] The Aryan archæologist was Dr. Henry Sehliemann, whose name will ever hold a prominent place among those of distinguished investigators. Being a faithful student of the Homeric poems, he located the site of ancient Ilios upon the hill of Hisarlik, in the center of the Troad. He began his excavations in 1871. At a depth of fifty-two and one-half feet native rock was uncovered. As the excavators sunk their shafts, and cleared away the rubbish, they uncovered stratum after stratum of ruins, each varying from the previous one in the date and character of the remains found. The acropolis of seven cities, that had successively crowned the summit of the hill and as often fallen before the blows of the destroyer, were there unearthed. Each of these settlements must have preceded the following by quite a period of time. The five lowest were entirely prehistoric, for we have records of the existence of none of them except Ilios of the Homeric poems, the sixth was a Lydian settlement, and the seventh was "Classical Ilium."[2]

Of the seven settlements, that have at various times occupied the hill of Hisarlik and spread over the plain of Troy to the west, south, south-east, the second above native rock has the greatest interest for the historian, for it has

[1] Contemporary Review, Dec. 1878.

[2] The Ilios of Homer is entirely distinct from "Classical Ilium," four cities intervened.

been proved that it was the sacred Ilios of the Home poems. The more recent settlements were mere villa when compared to it, and do not interest us. But arou Ilios—the stories of whose destruction, as recited by t ancient bards, were wont to stir the assembled Gree to the highest pitch of excitement—there will ever ling memories of ancient times most enchanting to the stude of history. And now—just as historians were about cast aside the traditions of these heroic times—"the lig has broken over the peaks of Ida, and the long-forgott ages of prehistoric Hellas and Asia Minor are lying bath in it before us."[1] We are now able to glean some histori truths from what it was feared was only myth.

As we have said, it is now known and generally mitted that these Trojans were colonists, or at least scendants of the Phrygians;[2] and the Phrygians tr their lineage back, through the Thracians, to the great T tonic family of the Aryan race.[3] But when the Phrygi sent their first colonists to settle at Hissarlik, they fou it already occupied by a people whom they must have c quered. Then who were these first people who dwelt in Troad and built the first acropolis at Hissarlik? T discoveries of Schliemann have proved that this first s tlement must have existed for "a great number of cen ries."[4] They had erected only two buildings, howev upon the hill, but the settlement must have extended o a large area to the west, south, and south-east of plain of Troy.

By a comparison of the pottery found in this fi settlement with what has been found in "the so-cal tumulus of Protesilaos" on the European side of the H

[1] Sayce: "Troja," ix.
[2] Above page 43. [3] Above page 71 [4] "Troja," p

Hellespont, it has been proved that "the first inhabitants of Hissarlik, the builders of its first city, must have come across the Hellespont."[1] This means a great deal to us, for it tells us that the builde of this first settlement were more or less Aryanized, and we have little hesitancy in classing them with the great, but mysterious, Pelasgic people that so early spread over Southern Europe.



Polished Axes from Hissarlik.

But the remains of this first settlement teach us many things. They carry us back to a time when the inhabitants of Asia Minor were battling with one another with rude stone impliments.[2] They were still in the Neolithic Age, but just merging into the Bronze Age, for there were found a few ornaments of copper or bronze, such as brooches, knives, etc., showing that they had a slight knowledge of metals.[3] Their weapons, however, were of stone, the most interesting of which were two polished stone axes as represented in the accompanying cut. Exactly similar

[1] Sayce, "Troja," p. x. [2] Sayce, Op. cit p. xii.

[3] See Lenormant "Les Antiquities de la Troad," p. 11, quoted in "Ilios," p 481.

axes have been found in Denmark, England, Germany, Livonia, Courland, Hungary, and many other localities in Europe. We are thus introduced to a time prior to the existence of the great empires of Asia Minor, perhaps even before the empire of the Hittites had risen.[1]

To what remote antiquity this all points! Pelasgians had become Aryanized to Phrygians; Phrygians had become Aryanized to Thracians. And this must have been the state of affairs at the close of the Neolithic Age. For we know that the Neolithic Age was just drawing to its close when the Phrygian tribes of Trojans descended upon the first Aryan (or Pelasgian) settlement of Hissarlik, conquered, and destoyed it, laying the foundation of the Homeric Ilios. Now the Thracians and, in their turn, the Phrygians must have developed into quite a powerful people before the first Phrygian colonists appeared in the Troad; and that means that the Aryans had already gained the ascendency throughout the greater portion of Southern Europe long before the close of the Neolithic Age.

Although at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, we are to suppose that the greater part of Europe was peopled by a Non-Aryan race, of which the Basques, Etruscans, and Finns are the remnants,[2] the ethnologist tells us that, during the Neolithic Age, the Celts spread over much of the territory that they occupied at the dawn of history.[3] They probably occupied Gaul and Britain during the ages of Polished Stone, Bronze, and Iron. Those tribes that were compelled to remain nearest the Baltic homeland became, from the beginning, more and more Aryanized by the constant encroachment upon their territory

[1] Above page 42. Sayce, Op. cit. p. ix.
[2] This Series, Vol. I. p. 209 *et seq.*
[3] Ibid. p. 214.

of the Germans. Thus, while most of the broad-headed skulls found in Neolithic caves are undoubtedly Celtic, there is a probability that some are Belgic Germans,[1] so that there were, no doubt, also Germans in Western Europe at the close of the Neolithic Age.

It is, of course, impossible to give dates at this period in Aryan history. It was at the close of the Neolithic Age.[2] With our present enlightenment on this subject, we can not point to a single region in Central Asia and say that we know that the ancestors of the Asiatic Aryans dwelt there in the Neolithic Age. We have no evidence whatever, that they were there when the other great Oriental empires arose. But in Europe, on the other hand, we know that Aryan migration toward the west and southwest had developed the great Celtic branch; that the southward course of migration had given rise to the mysterious Pelasgic branch, extending even to the confines of the Oriental world; and, if we had any records whatever of the movements of the Sarmatian tribes during this Age, we would find them pressing forward toward the shores of the Caspian Sea. Thus at the close of the Neolithic Age, the Celts, the Pelasgians, and the Sarmatians, as the vanguard of Aryan migration outward from the Baltic center of dispersion, shared among themselves the border-lands of the extent of Aryan possessions even as they did at the dawn of history.

Centuries then rolled away, during which time we have no information of the events that transpired among the various Aryan people. From the close of the Neolithic Age to the Heroic Age, they are almost lost to history. During all this time, the Germans must have

1 See description of the Belgæ in Bohn's "Cæsar," p. 545.

2 *Vide* This Series, Vol. I. p. 257 *et seq.*

kept pouring down into Thrace, and the Thracians Greece and Phrygia. Tribes of Phrygians migrated the Troad and laid the foundation of the Homeric I The Ionian Greeks spread over the isles of the Aeg and founded many settlements on the coasts of Asia Mi These foreigners took an active part in the affairs of older world. They united their forces with the Hit against Egypt;[1] and, for several dynasties, a numbe Aryan tribes are powerful enough to receive distinct r tion in Egyptian inscriptions among the powers that a themselves against the rulers of the Nile region.

The Trojan children of the Phrygians played a n brilliant part in the history of that portion of the w than did the parent tribes. They founded their ca city upon the ruins of the Neolithic settlement, and t it stood for we know not how long. As restored by Schliemann, it has a wonderful tale to tell. It tells u a former sacking many ages before its final ruin, for Ilios that the Greeks burned was built on a parti ruined Ilios of an earlier date. Thus are we given inkling to the foundation of the ancient myth, that angry Hercules, on account of the deceit of Laome had once captured and partially destroyed the city.[2] acknowledged to be the Homeric Ilios, for all the l marks are there. The acropolis with its six palaces, rounded by their Poseidonian walls of defense and fi with their treasures of gold, could have been none o than the home of the aged Priam. Thus does it pr true, that the "recent discoveries in the Troad show Ilium was as real a place as Thebes."[3]

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 394.
[2] Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. I. p. 186.
[3] Sayce: "Comparative Philology," p. 319.

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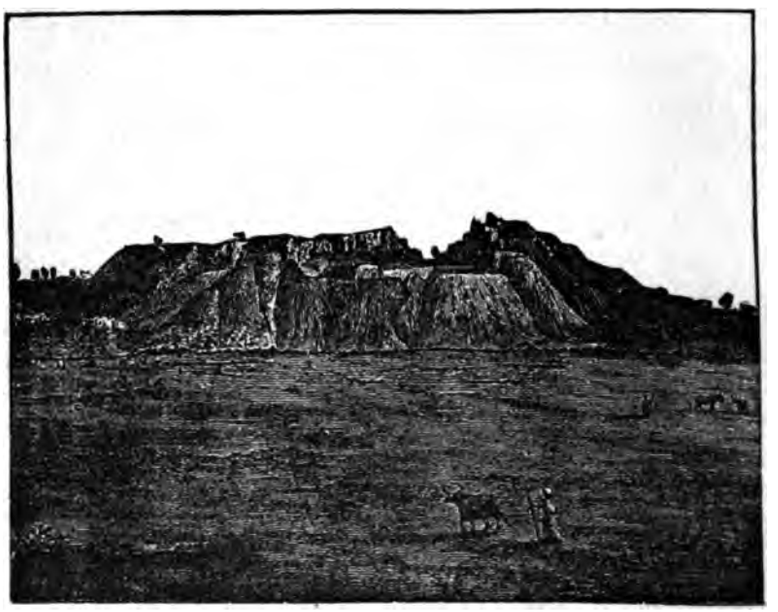
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1 See description of the Belgae in Bohn's "Caesar," p. 545.

2 *Vide* This Series, Vol. I. p. 257 *et seq.*

esting stories to tell us, for they carry us back to a time long prior to that when the Phoenician trader roamed over the seas at will, and visited every known portion of the world. We are thus told that, even at that time, the Aryans of Asia Minor had a written language, though it may have been but a rude forecast of the more perfect



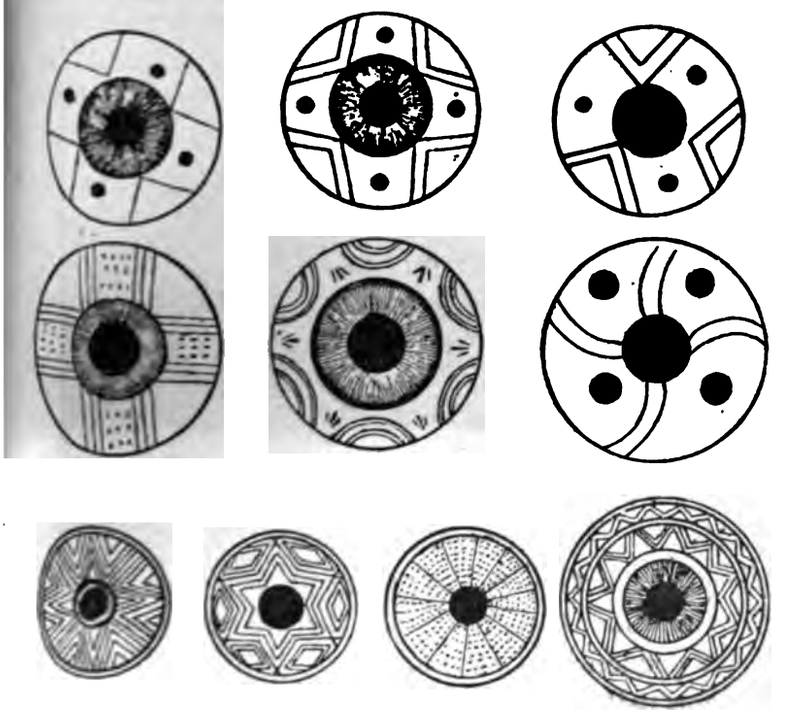
Hissarlik.

form that the Phoenicians themselves were destined to introduce.[1] It was a sort of syllabic form of writing, and goes by the name of Asianic syllabary, given it by Prof. Sayce. This form of writing was widely spread over Asia Minor and the isles of the Aegaean.[2]

Archaeologists are still trying to interpret these Trojan inscriptions, and we can not tell how soon they will

[1] Taylor: "The Alphabet," p. 115-6.
[2] *Vide* Inscription given Vol. II. p. 403.

read from them pages of history from the long forgotten past. For their interpretation, we are referred back to the time when the Hittite empire was in the height of its glory, and spread its influence over a vast region in Asia Minor between Babylonia and the smaller tribal districts along the western coast. They were the great tra-



Whorls from Troy.

ders of the age; and it is due to them, that the culture of the East was transmitted to the less enlightened people of the West. The Trojans may not, then, have had direct intercourse with Babylonia, but may have received a knowledge of eastern culture as it came to them tinged with Hittite influence.

A few rude attempts at art were found in the burnt

city of Hissarlik. The most of the specimens that m be classed under that head consist of a rude draft pair of eyes, appearing on the pottery. The general pearance of these objects led Dr. Schliemann to class t all under the head of "Owl-headed" pottery. But t was also found a rude leaden image of some goddess the Trojans worshiped. The discoverer of Ilios wa clined to identify it with the Greek goddess, Athene.[1] Sayce, after having pointed out the Babylonian and Hi influence that had so much to do in molding the ci



Owl-Headed Goddess.

zation of the Trojans, recognized, at once, the resembl between this Ilian image and the representations of great goddess of Carchemish, the Hittite capital.[2] Trojans called her Ate, and the Hittites Athi. We told that the "Owl-headed" vases also represented same goddess. Her images occur all over Asia Minor even appear at Mycenæ. Such was the modified Bal nian art, that spread over Western Asia, and along it came the worship of the Babylonians as institute Carchemish. Thus should we notice the influence of Turanian Hittites upon the culture, and especially

[1] "Ilios," p. 153-6.

[2] "Troja," p. xvii. and xviii

religion, of these primitive Aryan people. Though former may have received their ideas from Semitic ɔylonia, the entire religious belief of the Trojans was ply colored by this Turanian religion.[1]

Such is our knowledge of the ancient Trojans. Though may feel gratified by the remarkable strides that his- ians have made in the past few years in unraveling mystery—that mystery that has ever veiled this storied d—yet it is humiliating to contemplate how little we, n now, know of the fleeting past, and the momentous nts that have transpired. We begin to see through veil darkly, and can indulge the hope, that it will not nany generations, before our scholars can read us a con- ıous history of these early times, from the many cylin- s and tablets that are being unearthed in this inter- ng region, the cradle of Aryan civilization.

Now if we turn again to Europe, we will find that more thoroughly Aryanized people of that continent 'e not entirely inactive. During the period of Trojan ndeur, the Aryans of Southern Europe were slowly, surely, gathering ideas from the more advanced regions he South and East. About the earliest evidence of an 'ance in culture that we have, is manifested in the at walls of defense, with which these herdsmen and bandmen seem to have been forced to surround their ıal headquarters. So immense were the blocks of stone d for this purpose, that the ancients were wont to ibute the building of their walls to a race of giants, ɔm they called Cyclopes, hence we have the term "Cy- ɔean Walls." It is supposed that the oldest of these

[1] The above would seem to indicate that the tutelary goddess of ns was of Turanian origin. Consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Re- n," *cf.* Keary: "Primitive Belief." We have sought altogether too a source for the gods of ancient Greece.

walls was built around the citadel at Tiryns in Arg
Mycenæ had one, and Cyclopean walls formed a ma
feature of Hellenic architecture of this period.

Writers do not as yet agree as to who the builde
the Cyclopean walls were. Many argue that the archi
were brought from Asia. Professor Adler[1] argues
they were of Phrygian origin. Dr. Schliemann th
that they were a "great Asiatic people, which about
middle of the second millenium before Christ cov
the whole of the mainland of Greece, as well as the isl
of the Ionian and Aegaean seas, with settlements,
which had already attained a high level of culture."[2]
again he says: "We may therefore assume, with g
probability, that the gigantic walls of Tiryns were
by Phoenician colonists, and the same is probably the
with the great prehistoric walls in many other par
Greece."[3] Here we are introduced to a new people
are taking part in European affairs; namely, the Ph
cians."[4]

In the ruins of Ilios, everything points to pre-Ph
cian times.[5] The Hittites were the traders of its day,
we are to suppose that this later nation of merchants
not yet found their way to the shores of the Troad.
in Europe, there have nowhere been found any ruins
can be classed as pre-Phoenician.[6] The Phoenicians, t
must have appeared in numbers on the Mediterra
about the period of the fall of Troy, although single P

1 Preface to Schliemann: "Tiryns," p. xlvii. *et seq.*

2 "Tiryns," New York, 1885. 3 Ibid. p. 28.

4 The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone regards these builders of th
clopean walls of Greece as a Poseidon worshiping race [*i.e.* Phoeni
related to the builders of the walls of Troy, thus connecting Greec
Troy. See preface to "Mycenae and Tiryns," p. viii.

5 Sayce: "Troja," p. xvi. and xvii.

6 Sayce: "Contemporary Review," December, 1878, p. 69.

nician traders had, no doubt, penetrated these regions long before that time. As private traders and daring navigators, their ships could have been no uncommon sight in Grecian harbors while yet the walls of Troy were standing. The pottery unearthed at Mycenae, though plainly of Babylonian origin, shows also a Phoenician influence. Yet Hittite traders may have early found their way across the Hellespont and down into Grecian lands,[1] and borne thence a knowledge of Oriental arts and manufacturers. We thus catch a glimpse of the wide spread traffic and the long and dangerous journeys of these harbingers of civilization in the very childhood of European nations. The dates of this period are indefinite, but they have been limited by the best authorities to between the eighteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C.,[2] and that is just the period when Assyria and Babylonia were at the head of the civilized world.

Prof. Sayce[3] recognizes two distinct periods in the development of Grecian art and culture. The first of these he calls Phrygian, and defines it as the period when Phoenician and Oriental influence was felt only indirectly, by intercourse with a few traders who periodically visited the cities of Greece. The second was a period when teachers and artisans were invited across the Aegean to manage the construction of buildings and works of art. As early as the sixteenth century B. C., the Phoenicians had distinguished themselves as a great commercial people, trading between Assyria and Babylonia; and we can not believe that they were ignorant of the very localities where the purple-giving murex, cuttle-fish, and

[1] Ibid p. 67, 74.

[2] Sayce, Ibid.; also Dr. Schlieman's "Mycenae and Tiryns," p. 9-18.

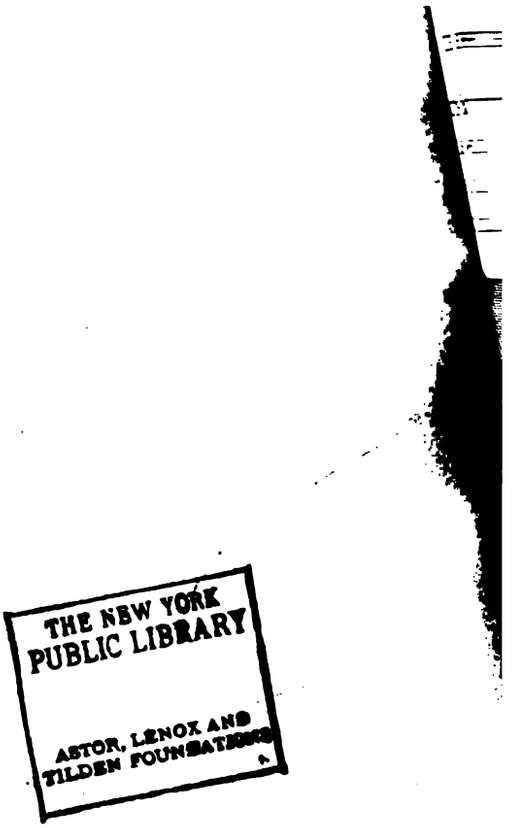
[3] Op. cit.

slaves were most easily attainable.[1] But the wide extent and wonderful influence of the Phoenicians on the culture of early Europe has already been sufficiently discussed.[2]

The Phoenicians, accepting the Assyrians and Babylonians as their masters, brought to the people of Europe new ideas, and opened their eyes to a better mode of life. The Aryan mind grasped the new ideas at once. "They entered into other men's labors, and made the most of them." Their small village communities assumed the airs of cities; walls of defense were erected; elegant vases, fine linen, Oriental fabrics, and, indeed, all manner of foreign articles were eagerly purchased, with the produce of the land, or with captives procured in their tribal warfare. Finally, they began to import workmen, who, under the guidance of the Aryan master mind, soon improved upon their models. They built ships, and sought to compete with the Phoenicians upon the sea. Their own works of art came into demand in foreign markets, and Greece soon entered upon a career that was destined to place her at the head of the culture of the Medieval world.

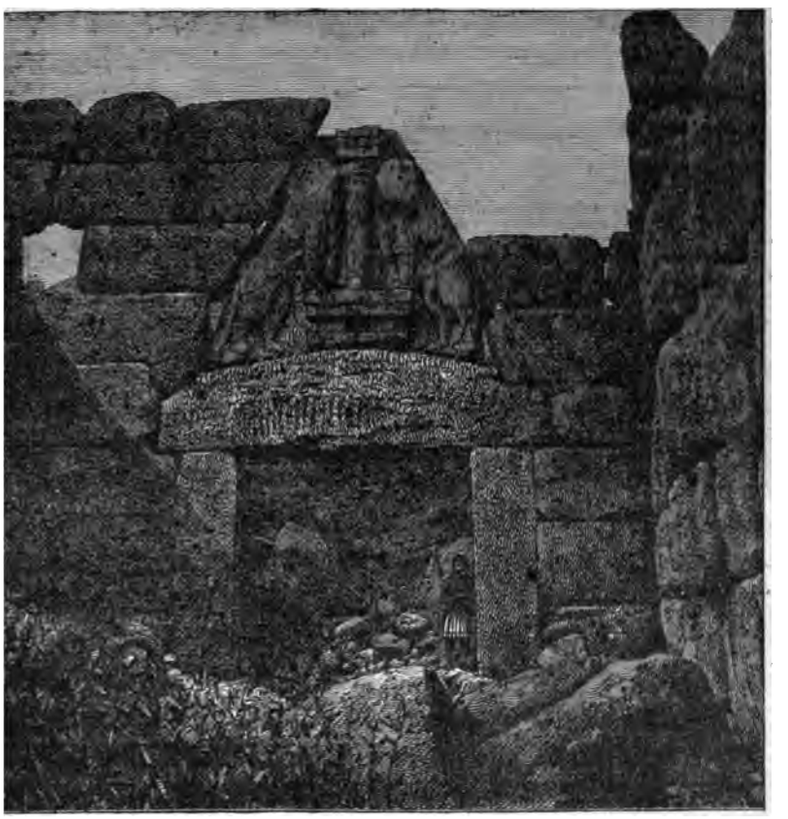
In our haste to give Oriental civilizations credit for all they may have done to advance Aryan culture, we must not overlook the influence that was constantly exerted over these regions from the Baltic homeland. In their love for classical literature and art, scholars are wont to overlook the barbarous and inhuman practices of their particular favorites, the Greeks and Romans. As touched by the poet's art, the act of the great Agamemnon, in slaying his beautiful daughter, Iphigenia, to appease the anger of some goddess, has received plaudits from the literary world from that day to this; but the Druid priest, who, in the midst of the solitary forest, offered up his sac-

[1] Sayce, Ibid. p. 94. [2] See This Series, Vol. II. p. 733.


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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

ifices to gain the favor of some angry deity for his suffer-
ıg people, has been ranked as a murderer from the begin-
ing. Let us not forget that, until their contact with
'riental civilizations had wrought wonderful changes in



Lions Gate at Mycenae.

assical people, they were as inhuman and barbarous as
ny other Aryan people. The Spartans can boast of neither
umanity nor refinement.[1]

[1] Consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 265, *et seq.* here it will be seen that human sacrifice in Greece existed in *reality* to late date, perhaps, even, to the time of the Roman conquest.

In the royal tombs at Mycenæ were found a nun of amber beads.[1] A quantity of these were placed in hands of a distinguished chemist, and were thus pro to be from the Baltic.[2] Among the specimens of pott discoverd in the ruins of the first settlement at Tir were found vases with "vertically bored excrescences both sides," which are regarded as very rare and anci specimens. Still similarly marked vases are found al the Upper Danube, and in many parts of the Baltic gion.

Now, the German graves which contain pottery this class are referred to the Neolithic Age.[4] We must mit, then, that these ancient Germans either manufactu this pottery or else had communication with part Greece during the period between the Neolithic Age the second millennium B. C., back of which time Schliemann does not carry the date of the foundin Tiryns or Mycenæ. We can not, therefore, believe t these Germans had completely buried themselves in forests of the north. They were, no doubt, as steac though perhaps not as rapidly, advancing in cultur their more favored kindred to the south.

As regards Europe proper, the first gleams of hist light seem to dawn on the shores of ancient Hellas, wh has been called "a mountain region in the midst of

1 "Tiryns," p. 368.

2 This Series, Vol. I. p. 237; Vol II. p. 730.

3 There is a dispute about the date of this first settlement, but t who maintain that it is of recent date are in the minority. See Good "Nineteenth Century," 1886, p. 914 *et seq.* Also Stillman: "Natu May 20, 1886.

4 Given as Prof. Virchow's opinion in "Tiryns," p. 63. See same work p. 57 *et seq.*

sea running in
ular portion, was known as the
row neck joining it to the
us of Corinth. To the
la of Argolis pushed off to the
a: to the north was the peninsula of
end into the sea.

In ancient Hellas, were "Alpine
ighborhood of the sea in Olympus
ygetus Here steep rocky
splendor above groves of
tely forests inclosed green
climate that the land
pical vegetation. "The
d slopes sufficed for the
well-situated mountain
ture of the vine."[3] The
ulets in the summer to
h was Hellas, and the
daunted by all the
urned only defiance to
gave them fortifications,

must remember that thus far we have depended upon language, researches of the archaeologist, and Oriental inscriptions for our information. Though some of our best Egyptologists believe that the names of many Greek tribes are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Pharaohs, others doubt the accuracy of their interpretation.[1] We have now to deal with records even more uncertain. We have reached the period of myths and traditions which center around certain legendary heroes who, if they lived at all, lived so long ago that the ancients supposed that they were the children of the gods. This has been called the "Heroic Age."

Strange and ridiculous as it may appear to us, the heroic age was a time honored reality to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Even down to a very recent time, the mass of the people were firm believers in the genuineness of the mythical history that clusters around their ancestral gods and forms a part of their vestal worship. We must constantly bear in mind that every illustrious hero of this strangely unreal age thought it no sacrilege to claim relationship to some god or goddess of the Grecian pantheon. It was not considered as at all opposed to the ideal character of divinity for their revered gods to visit the earth and deflower the daughters of men. Neither did their goddesses, whose beauty, purity, and divinity inspired the sculptor's chisel, lose anything in the reverence of the people by meeting earth-born heroes and bearing them children destined to accomplish deeds of renown. Thus the fertile minds of the ancients peopled the earth with a race of demi-gods, in whom they firmly believed and whom they devoutly worshiped.

[1] See Sayce: "Contemporary Review," Dec. 1878, p. 74-5.

We must look to the
s of Hellas for the le-
s of this remote age.
e blind Homer has be-
e such a visionary per-
ge, we can not mention
as an historical char-
; but the great mass
oetry known as the
eric poems is as inter-
g and valuable as ever
treasure-house of this
nt folk-lore. One of
most ancient legends
interest us is that of
oyage of the ship Ar-
search of the "golden
e." Their vessel was
ructed under the su-
ision of the goddess,
ne, tutelary goddess
thens.

was manned by fifty
o e s and demi-gods,
ig whom were Her-
, Theseus, Castor and
ix, with Jason, heir to
chieftainship of Thes-
in command. Perhaps
an conclude from this
d, that long voyages of
very were of early oc-
nce among the Greeks,



Argonautic Expedition.

and that they journeyed toward the east in quest of gold and precious metals.[1]

So in regard to the sacking of Troy or Ilios, we have no satisfactory records, for this event has ever been a most fruitful source of legends and myths. The spade of the archaeologist has proved that Ilios once was. That she had been twice conquered, once she was but partially destroyed, but at last she met the same sad fate of so many ancient cities. Thus far, we are in no doubt and so we admit that there is an historical foundation for the Homeric poems. We need not dwell upon the myths that cluster around the history of the rise and fall of this ill-fated city. The walls built by Poseidon; the sacking by the angry Hercules; Paris, the unfortunate castaway; the envious contest of the beautiful goddesses, Aphrodite, Here, and Athene; the rape of Helen, the "fairest of living women;" the vengeful Greeks, bent on rescuing the fair Helen and punishing her seducer; the Olympian gods in angry council over the affair; the returning heroes doomed to endless wanderings:[2] all savor too much of the unreal to claim space for detailed mention here; and these legends are, no doubt, familiar to all readers of the older school of historians. We must conclude with Dr. Webb,[3] that "the tale of Troy, as we have it in Homer, is essentially a poetic creation."

1 This legend is given in full in Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. I. p. 231 *et seq.*; also "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 19. See Richard Payne Knight: "Symbolical Language of Ancient Art," p. 168. Possibly in the legend of the Argonautic Expedition we have a myth to account for a survival from ancient Phallic worship. The ark plays an important part in all religions of the Orient, it probably represents the womb from whence all living things proceed. See Inman: "Ancient Faiths," Vol. I. p. 383 *et seq.*; Knight, Op. cit. p. 133; Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 128; Blavatsky: "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 444.

2 See Homer's "Odyssey" and Virgil's "Aenaeid."

3 "An Introduction to Homer," Boston, 1877, p. 147.

It may be of interest to us, however, to note how faithfully the poet portrays the life and culture of the



Return from Troy.

he times. His characters are all heroes and demi-gods. There were Menelaus, husband of the fair Helen, the great Agamemnon, the wise Nestor, the wily Odysseus,

and the powerful warriors, Ajax and Achilles. Agamemnon was the chosen leader, yet he dared not act before he had called a council of the chieftains. In this council, all the chieftains spoke with as much freedom as the commander, and they did not hesitate to denounce him in the boldest manner. His authority was only nominal, for he seems to have had no power to compel obedience. Pouting Achilles could lie unmolested in his ships, regardless of his superior's commands, as well as the peril of the Grecian cause, just on account of a quarrel between himself and Agamemnon.[1] This all points to a loosely organized tribal state of government, where every chieftain ruled his own tribe independent of any superior authority.[2]

Herodotus but echoed the sentiments of his day, when he makes the Persians say: "To steal women is the deed of knaves, but to hastily seek vengeance for those who have been carried off is foolish."[3] So that it is improbable that the earlier Greeks should raise such a stir about a single woman, even were she the fairest of the sex. The poet's story is, probably, but the solar myth of the strife between light and darkness retold, with perhaps a slight historical foundation. "Some memorable capture of a town in the Troad had probably been made by Greek warriors."[4] We would go even further, and surmise, that it was one of those great periodical migrations of the Hellenes into Asia Minor, when the pent up forces of Aryan migration burst forth with renewed vigor, and the waves flooded the entire eastern shores of the Mediterranean and even laved the feet of the Pyramids of

1 "Iliad," Book i.

2 This Series, Vol. II. p. 179 *et seq.*

3 Book i. chapter 4.

4 Webb, Op. cit.



from that ever swarming Aryan hive in northern Central Europe. The Dorians entered the Peloponnesus, and the earlier dwellers there were either Dorianized, enslaved, or driven out upon the islands of the sea. The western coast of Asia Minor was finally repopulated by tribes of Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians from the opposite coast of Hellas. The Phoenicians planted their colonies along the Mediterranean shores, and even built commercial towns in Greece itself. But, as far as Greece was concerned, they came, performed their mission as harbingers and messengers of a greater civilization, and passed away[1]—all within this period.

The Homeric poems grew during this era. The great epics—the Iliad and Odyssey—have ever since furnished models for the poets of all nationalities. This period also witnessed the introduction of the Greek alphabet, and thus the foundation of a literature, in the scope and perfection of which Greece for many centuries led the world. We seek in vain for more than traces of all these changes. History is all but silent regarding them. A few legends and their stories are told; the growth of language adds its mite; and the spade of the archaeologist brings its tribute. Thus do we glean the seeming facts and shape the records of a great nation through four centuries of its childhood. The rest is buried in a long forgotten past, which may, perhaps, never be recalled. "Our clock strikes when there is a change from hour to hour: but no hammer in the horologue of Time peals through the universe, when there is a change from Era to Era. Men understand not what is in their hands: as a calmness is a characteristic of strength, so the weightiest causes may be most silent."[2]

Should we attempt to compare ancient Hellas with

[1] Grote, Vol. III. p. 27. [2] Carlyle.

[illegible] Myth, Ritual, and Religion," London,

corrupting, and carried forward to perfection what was enlightening, ennobling or refining.

When history finally dawns upon Greece, we find that land peopled by tribes who claimed descent from one common ancestor,[1] and recognized "fellowship of blood; fellowship of language; fixed domiciles of gods and sacrifices, common to all; and like manners and customs."[2] The majority of ancient historians, including Herodotus[3] and Thucydides,[4] believed that there was a time when different languages were spoken in the various parts of Greece; but, during historical times, the Greek language has been universally used throughout Hellas. As we would suppose, however, in a tribal state of society, there were many dialects, principal among which were the Doric, Aeolic, and Ionic. Each tribe had its peculiar dialect, though the divergences were not such as to prevent every Greek from understanding every other Greek. This points to a time when a common mother language was spoken by the Hellenic tribes. This language was different, though cognate with the primitive Latin tongue.

Politically the Hellenic tribes were universally independent of one another. Athens was only one of a number of Ionic cities, each of which regarded itself as free from all manner of political servility. As regards dialect,[5] the various political communities of Attica were closely allied. So likewise all Greece was united in the worship of certain deities. But politically there was no unity in ancient

[1] Hellen.
[2] Grote, Op. cit. p. 237.
[3] Herodotus, i. 57-8.
[4] Thucydides, i. 3.
[5] Grote says: "There was no such thing as one Ionic dialect . . . The Ionic dialect of grammarians was an extract from Homer, Hekataeus, Herodotus, Hippocrates, etc.; to what living speech it made the nearest approach amidst these divergencies, which the historian has made known to us, we can not tell."

reece. More recent research in the field of ancient ciety, enables us to clearly understand society in ancient reece. It was simply tribal society. A brief study of has already been made.[1] We need simply recall, that ch tribe was independent, and that the several divisions a tribe allowed no interference in their internal affairs. s each important city in ancient Greece was the headquar- rs of a tribe, we understand why there was no connect- g bond between them, and why it was so difficult for a sident of one city to acquire rights in another; it could ly be done by tribal adoption. Only at a later date ere confederacies formed. At an extremely early date, owever, both at Athens and at Sparta, some tribes, prob- bly Pelasgic, had been reduced to tribute.

The Greeks were further, to a great extent, religiously nited. Were we to seek a date commemorated by the unding of the Delphian temple to Apollo, we would ose ourselves amidst the shadows of antiquity. It stood the slopes of Parnassus before Homer sang of the rath of Achilles.[2] Even before the return of the Hera- ids, the Amphictyonic council was wont to assemble d deliberate for the protection of this sacred temple and rich gifts, that had at that time, even, been brought m the ends of the world[3] and dedicated to that all-wise l.

Long before the first date appears in Grecian history, priestess of Apollo was wont to enter the caves of rnassus and listen to the will of the gods in regard to affairs of men. Even at the dawn of legendary his- y, no great enterprise was undertaken without first

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 182 *et seq.*
[2] "Iliad," ix. l. 504.
[3] Smith: "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities."

consulting the Delphian oracle in regard to the success of the undertaking. In later times, the Greeks founded colonies only under the approval of Apollo, as manifested through the priestess at Delphi. Lycurgus sought the aid of the Delphian oracle before he prepared his laws for Sparta.[1] In still later times, rulers and statesmen from Rome, Egypt, and Asia, sought advice from Delphi,



The Priestess of Apollo at Delphi.
[*Vide* Vol II. p. 328.]

and acted accordingly. Here was the spot in all the world most favored by the gods. This, according to the ancient legend, was the spot chosen by Apollo himself, as his favorite resort. Here, the ancients thought the ear of that god could be reached with least effort and their petitions

[1] Grote, Vol. II. p. 253.

ith greatest favor, and so, from the earliest times, ocked hither to listen to the will of the gods.

ow, there was, no doubt, a time when this place of ip was a simple, local shrine,[1] and it must have taken time to bring it into national prominence. But it came to be known all over Hellas. The rich that were brought as propitiatory offerings to the accumulated to such an extent, that fears were enter- d for the safety of these treasures. So we find, even e very beginning of Grecian history, that certain ve of the numerous Hellenic tribes had formed a league he protection of the temple and treasures of the Del- n Apollo.[2] This league was called the *Amphictyonic* *ril*. Its origin extends so far back in time, that the nd making Grecians were wont to attribute its organi- on to a mythical personage, Amphictyon, whom they le a brother of Hellen, the so-called ancestor of the llenes.

The word "Amphictyon" means a gathering of friends, eighbors.[3] It is a noteworthy fact, that only such Hel- ic tribes as dwelt in the neighborhood of Delphi and rmopylæ before the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, e represented in this league. Representation was also rding to tribes, and not according to cities. Athens placed on an equality with all other Ionian towns. likewise, Thebes was one of several Bœotian towns. h tribe had two votes in the deliberations of the coun- and the small towns were entitled to an equal voice those that were known in historic times only as large s. Some of the tribes that were co-powerful with the

[1] Strabo, book ix. chapter iii. 7. [2] Strabo, ix. iii. 7-8.

[3] For a deeper meaning of the first syllable, *Am*, see Higgins: "Ana-

Ionians and Bœotians are only known to us as subordin to the rule of others that were also members of t league.[1]

In the council, however, the subordinate Perrhæbi had two votes that proved as weighty as the two votes c by the ruling Thessalians. Thus we see that all this e dence points to a very early period in the history of Gre It leads us back to a time prior to the return of the He cleids; to a time, in fact, when Athens, Sparta, and The were not so much more powerful than their neighbori towns as to be deemed worthy of special notice; also t time when the five dependent tribes represented in t league were equal in strength and liberty to their la masters, the Thessalians.

This much, then, does the Delphian oracle reveal us in regard to the history of Hellas in the past. We taught that even before the dawn of history, neighbori tribes were accustomed to hold councils to deliberate up their common interests. These associations were not c fined to this particular league, but there were a numl of less prominent Amphictyons, that had their spec places of assemblage throughout Greece and her coloni The Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian settlements of A Minor, each had their league that assembled at stated tervals, at a certain place, in honor of some god. Th were others in Hellas itself.[2] The great Amphictyo council, however, met twice a year; in the spring, at D phi, in honor of Apollo, and, in the autumn, near Th

1 The twelve mentioned as members of the Amphictyonic cou are "Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magne Locrians, Oetaeans, Achaeans, Phocians, Dolopes, and Malians. P haebians, Magnetes, Achaeans of Phthiotes, Malians and Dolopes w in the state of irregular dependence upon the Thessalians.

2 Grote, Vol. II.

mopylæ, in the "second precinct of Demeter Amphictyonis."

At first, the assembly consisted of little more than delegates from the separate tribes; but later, these representatives were followed to the place of assemblage by large concourses of people who came together for purposes of trade and sacrifice, or to witness the games that were made a part of each festival from very early times. When, in historic times, the Pythian games came to be celebrated at Delphi, the roads and by-ways leading from the remotest corners of Greece were crowded with pilgrims, both on foot and in their magnificent chariots drawn by their finely caparisoned steeds, destined to contend in the races for the honor-bearing prize, a wreath of wild olive.[1]

We must remember that the Greeks, in common with all early people, were still in a tribal state of society when their really historical period begins. While we can speak of them, as we have above, as Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians, we must not forget that these were only the ruling confederacies. There were many, and different, tribes still dwelling in the Peloponnesus, but so much weaker and inferior to their Dorian masters as to have remained buried in oblivion. The tribes that occupied Hellas had, like all European Aryans, already reached a social development, in which the family was recognized, and the village community was the center of governmental life. They already had their walled towns, but Athens and Sparta had not yet attained the power and grandeur that characterized them later[2].

The majority of their towns were without walls and

[1] These games will be more fully described later.
[2] Grote, Op. cit. p. 247.

scatteringly inhabited; and, according to Thucydides, they regarded it as contributing to their glory to plunder their weaker neighbors.[1] Through fear of being assaulted by pirates, who swarmed the seas, the most of the early villages were located at a distance from the coast.[2] But when the people became more wealthy, through their commercial relations with other countries, they built walled towns on the sea-coast and easily defended isthmuses. In the summer, the mountain slopes were covered with flocks and herds, and all tillable lands were cultivated like gardens. Their products were wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil.[3]

Although the year 776 B. C. furnishes us a starting point in Grecian chronology, for two centuries more we are left to grope about in the darkness of Grecian history, with only here and there a stray ray of light to guide our uncertain steps. Some events, that ripened into historical facts of greatest moment, sprang into life during the uncertain century preceding the first Olympiad. During three centuries,[4] we are constantly introduced to past scenes, where the historical and legendary meet on nearly equal grounds. It was during the early part of this period, that the semi-mythical character, Lycurgus, existed and gave to Sparta laws remarkable for their originality and severeness.[5]

It was during this period, that the Dorian invasion

1 Book i. 5. 2 Ibid. chapter vii.

3 Grote, Op. cit. 230.

4 One preceding and two following the first Olympiad.

5 Plutarch says concerning Lycurgus [ch. I] that there is so much uncertainty about him that scarcely anything is said by one historian which is not contradicted by the rest. The conflicting authorities are Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, Timaeus, Herodotus, and Xenophon. O. Müller sums the whole account we have of him in the statement that "we have absolutely no account of him as an individual person." "Dorians," Vol. I. p. 152. This Series, Vol. II. p. 220.

of Peloponnesus was brought to a close by the conquest of Messena by Sparta. It was during this period, that the tribal villages of ancient Greece first grew into importance as cities. It was a period of tyrannies, when ambitious men usurped the ruling power in nearly all the tribes of Hellas. Thus tribal life was largely broken up, and subject tribes came forward to demand some share in the government. This period was also distinguished by the extension of the circumference of Grecian territory to its greatest limit under Hellenic rule, by extensive colonization along the shores and upon the islands of the Mediterranean.[1] The onward march of Aryan migrations had not yet ceased, and the crowded cities of Hellas planted colonies on foreign shores; and, they, in turn, became independent Hellenic cities

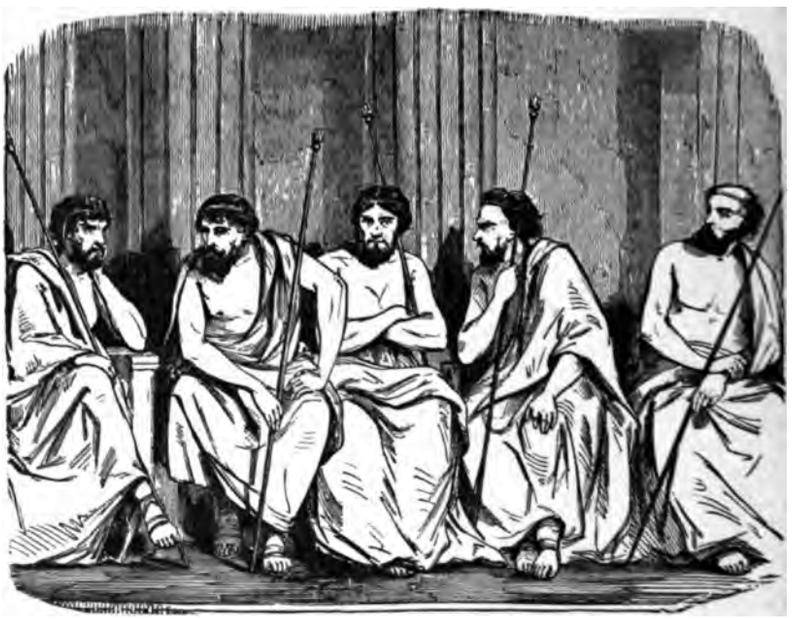
These three centuries witnessed the gradual rise of the Spartans. Sparta was situated among the mountains, in the heart of Peloponnesus. This was one of the points early occupied by the Dorians when they made their appearance in Peloponnesus. It is now generally supposed, that the Dorians united with the Aetolians crossed the Corinthian Gulf. The Artolians took possession of the fertile plains of Elis, but the Spartans passed on to the plains of Peloponnesus proper. They could not have been very numerous or powerful, and seem to have consisted of two bands, the Spartans proper and the Messenians. We have seen reasons in a former chapter to conclude that the Spartans consisted of five tribes.[2] When they reached the location of ancient Sparta, they built each their tribal city, five in all, unwalled and unadorned, at a distance from the sea

[1] It must be remembered that Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, were not Hellenic Greeks.

[2] Vol. II. p. 184.

coast, shut off from all risk of invasion by almost impracticable mountain roads. The band of Messenians pushed on further southwest, and established themselves not far from the border line of Arcadia, with whom they lived in peace.

On the eastern side of the Peloponnesus, another, though independent, invasion was in progress. Certain tribes of Dorians were advancing upon the native villages of Corinth



The Five Ephors

and Argos. There is every reason to believe, that these attacks were made from the sea. But we know that the Dorians finally gained possession of both towns and formed settlements there. Corinth was located on the narrow isthmus that joined Upper Hellas to the Peloponnesus. Argos was situated at the head of the gulf that separated the peninsula of Argolis from the mainland. This all happened during the first century after the fall of Troy. The


TI
PUB
ASTO
TILDE



230 CRŒSUS ON THE FUNERAL PYRE.

Spartans and Messenians were for several centuries close friends and allies. They were alike powerful at the Olympic festival, and had even erected a common shrine to Artemis Limnatis.

Though the Sparta[illegible]ed their land as conquerors, and the Messenians forced [illegible]e natives to an alliance, they found life among a strange people full of risk and contention. They, therefore, grew into power very slowly. Messena never attained the strength of her neighbor and after



Hoplites.



rival and conqueror. Though they reached their homes very early in the twelfth century B. C., it was not until the close of the ninth century, that Sparta became powerful enough to extend its conquests beyond a very limited area. About fifty years before the first Olympiad, there was said to rule at Sparta a chieftain by the name of Teleclus who claimed to trace his descent from Hercules. This was about the time that Sparta was given the laws of Lycurgus, and, no do[illegible] had begun to feel the benefits of these stringent enacti[illegible]nts.

The result of Sparta's laws was the formation of a powerful army. Every man was physically perfect and trained to endure all manner of hardships. A military training began at the age of seven, and no man was exempt until he had reached his three score years. Now, as an indication of Sparta's weakness up to this time, we are told[1] that during the three and one-half centuries that the Dorians had occupied the five villages at Sparta, there had existed a number of independent native tribes to the south, one of which, Amyclae, was only two and one-half miles from the Spartan headquarters. It was not until the time of Teleclus that these towns were conquered and made a part of Spartan territory! Not until this occurrence did Messena and the balance of the Peloponnesus begin to be fearful of Spartan supremacy.

For the ruling power in the Peloponnesus during the entire period of three centuries,[2] we are to look to Dorian Argos. This was her period of conquest and glory. As soon as her city became filled with inhabitants, an expedition was sent out to conquer and possess some neighboring villages. Thus did Argos establish colonies at Kloenae, Phlius, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Troezen, and Aegina, and make herself mistress of all the neighboring towns. Herodotus claims for her the sovereignty of the whole of the eastern Peloponnesus, Cythera, and other islands. Argos was the metropolis of Greece, and so continued until the Spartan armies, by mere physical superiority, gained supremacy in Hellas.

Argos seems to have reached the height of glory and power under the reign of the tyrant, Pheidon, who seized the government soon after the first Olympiad.[3] He

[1] Grote: "Greece," Vol. II. p. 329.

[2] Herodotus, i. 82.

[3] 770-730 B. C.

even had the effrontery to claim, as right of descent from Hercules, the privilege of presiding at the Olympian games; so at their eighth celebration, he appeared with an army, and took charge of the festival.[1] The insult was afterward punished by the combined armies of Elis and Sparta.[2] This may have been the prime cause of the enmity between Sparta and Argos. The most memorable act of Pheidon is yet to be mentioned. He caused the first coins to be struck at Aegina, and established a system of weights and measures, called the Aeginaean scale,[3] that came into general use throughout the greater part of Hellas. The Ionian Greeks modified this system and introduced the Euboeic scale which finally came into more universal use. Pheidon was the last ruler of prominence at Argos.

While Argos was enjoying her supremacy, the Spartans and the Messenians had become open enemies. About 743 B. C., they came to open hostilities; and, for the following three-fourths of a century, an almost continual warfare existed between them. The cause of this hostile state of affairs is attributed to a dispute in the neighborhood of the common shrine that stood on the borders of the two countries. The Peloponnesus, in the latitude of these two cities, is about eighty miles across from sea to sea. The border line between the two could not have been more than twenty miles from either.[4] During the seventy-five years of contention, Sparta was on the whole the stronger, and, finally, about 668 B. C., she succeeded in re-

1 Strabo, viii. 358.

2 The Elians had for a long period been given the honor of presiding at this festival, as it was celebrated on their territory.

3 Grote, Op. cit. p. 318.

4 It is evident, then, that this famous war, seventy-five years in duration, must have been a sort of tempest in a tea-pot.

ducing the Messenians to complete subjection. Her way was now clear for the conquest of the balance of the Peloponnesus, and her armies did not rest until this object was accomplished.

It was not until after the conquest of the Messenians Sparta that Athens came into prominence. About 624



Solon Dictating his Laws

B. C., there was introduced the Draconian code of laws, which were so severe that they were said to have been written in blood.[1] Almost every crime was made punishable by death. Thirty years later, Solon was elected Archon[2] and distinguished himself by the capture of Sal-

[1] But as to the meaning of this tradition, see Vol. II. p. 219.
[2] Ibid. p. 192.

amis, which was at that time under the control of Megara. That placed him in a position to have made himself tyrant of Athens. He was urged by his friends to do so, but chose rather to uphold the existing form of government.

During the season of his popularity, he was urged to draft a code of laws for Athens. The government promised to adopt and uphold for ten years his laws should he do so. The result of his efforts was the great Solonian code,[1] written on tablets,[2] which were ordered to be placed in the market place where all could read them. Then, so runs the tradition, in order to avoid being annoyed by clamors for changes and requests to repeal these laws, Solon absented himself from his country for ten years. It was during this time, that, traveling from country to country, he was invited to visit Crœsus, then ruling Sardis. Tradition asserts that he viewed the treasures of this richest of living men, but gave great offense by claiming that no one could be sure of happiness before the end of life.

An apochryphal story is told by Greek writers of a happy use afterward made by Crœsus of this remark by Solon. The story runs, that when Cyrus the Great was consolidating, into one harmonious whole, the petty Aryan states of Western Asia, he conquered Crœsus and condemned him to death. He was already placed on a funeral pyre, and the cruel flames were already lit, when Crœsus thinking on Solon's words exclaimed, "O Solon, Solon!" An opportune storm extinguished the flames, and the whole story coming to the ears of Cyrus, made so great an impression on him that he gave Croesus his life and

[1] For a full discussion of this code, see Vol. II. p. 192 *et seq.*

[2] Grote, Vol III. p. 133-4.

restored him, in a measure, to influence and power. This illustrates how fact, tradition, and myth intertwine in Greek history.

We must not forget that Athens and Sparta were not the only powerful cities in Greece. There seems to have



Solon and Croesus.

been about one prominent city in each of the small states into which Hellas was divided. Now in early times, these settlements seem to have been merely tribal headquarters, or the headquarters of a confederacy of tribes, where dwelt the supreme chieftain, and, as in the case of Sparta, the chieftains and house-fathers of several tribes. Thus was often planted the germ of a powerful city. Argos

ribal headquarters for Argolis; Sparta, for Laconia; as, for Attica; Corinth for the state of that name; es, for Bœotia; and Chalcis, for Euboea. On the of Asia Minor, the prominent cities were Myletus Ephesus in Ionia. Smyrna was first Aeolic but after- captured by Ionians. The Island of Rhodes was pied by Dorians. The remaining states and settle- s of Greece play a very insignificant part in the d's history, except it be Thessaly and certain colonies led by the cities already mentioned.



Ancient Athens.

The Greeks at an early date sent out numerous colo- and thus extended Greek influence and culture, helped forward the nascent civilization in Europe. · home Corinth planted a colony at Megara and an- r on the island of Corcyra.[1] The same year, she sent ony into Sicily that founded the city of Syracuse. was preceded in occupying Sicily by one year by onic colony at Naxos sent out by Chalcis in Euboea.[2] ara was behind Corinth only six years[3] in establishing

734 B. C. 2 735 B. C. 3 728 B. C.

a colony in Sicily, which was called by the name of its mother colony. Then colonization passed northward into Italy, and Sybaris,[1] Cratona,[2] and Messenia were founded. Cumae, on the western coast of Italy, and Ancona on the eastern coast are said to be Greek colonies, though the dates of their foundation are lost in the gloom of antiquity.

The Phocean Greeks from Asia Minor established a colony at Massilia on the southern coast of Gaul in 600. B C. which became a very important trading post. But Phoenician power was so great along the coast of Spain, that the Greeks found little encouragement to settle there. Encouraged by King Psammetichus, some Ionian Greeks founded a colony on the west branch of the Nile in the seventh century B. C. and called it Naucratis.[3] Miletus, and Megara vied with each other in exploring the shores of the Exuine Sea. The latter, in the seventh century, planted colonies at Chalcedon and Byzantium, while the former had sought to command the entrance to the Euxuine by establishing settlements at Abydus and Cyzicus.[4] There were many other smaller colonies planted by the Greeks during this period, but we have mentioned the most important. We have seen that this was a period of growth and spread of Aryan people. Wherever these colonies were planted, there is a hidden story of conquest, where an earlier people were either forced out of their homes to go and prey upon a weaker race, or else the men were reduced to slavery, and the women were made the

1 720 B. C. 2 710 B. C.

3 For recent researches as to location of Naucratis, see "Contemporary Review," July 1885.

4 For fuller information regarding this colonization scheme, See Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 91-119; also Freeman: "Historical Geography of Europe," Vol. I. p 47 *et seq*.

s of the conquerors. Such was the history of con-
st and colonization in ancient times.

While the population of Hellas was outstripping the
rounding Aryan people in growth and culture, we must
t forget that these other tribes did not remain station-
y. The power and importance of the early Thracians
ve already been dwelt upon.[1] During this entire period
d for many centuries previously, they must have been



The Parthenon at Athens.

so advancing in culture, and had doubtless attained no
considerable stage of enlightenment. The historical
d literary world has been for so long a time blinded by
he glitter of Grecian later culture, that scholars have had
ittle time and less inclination to study Thracian antiqui-
ies. But we doubt not that discoveries will in the future
e made that will result in a revolution in the history of
outhern Europe. In the time of Strabo, the military
rce of Thrace was established at two hundred and fifteen
ousand men. And so, in earlier times, it must have

1 Above page 41.

been a rival in power to any European nation or co eracy.[1] They had already, in the sixth century adopted an alphabet and introduced coined money.[2] T alphabet was akin to the Runic alphabet of the n ern regions, and inscriptions are being found, that, interpreted, may place the northern Aryans in a enviable light as compared to those of the southern insula.

The Danube and the Dnieper, two great high of travel and commerce, were used from very early t The Greek colonists about their mouths seem to been attracted there by the profits of this trade; a the days of Herodotus, merchantmen were accustom run up these rivers for a distance of five or six hu miles,[3] while the distance in a straight line betwee Baltic and the Black Seas is only about seven hu miles. A spearhead, bearing an inscription of ver cient type, has been found at Volhynia, showing tha alphabet had been transmitted into the Baltic regi a very early date. Now the Thracians and Ger could not have been rude and painted savages with alphabet, their coins, and their traffic with southern tries.

Along the northern shores of the Black Sea t east of the Thracians, dwelt the Cimmerians, who almost as mysterious a people as the Pelasgians. Re ing from the similarity of names they have been co ted with the Cymric Gauls of Western Europe. In Canon Rawlinson[4] speaks of them fleeing westward i

[1] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 216.

[2] Taylor: "Greeks and Goths," London, 1879, p. 51 *et seq.*

[3] Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 50.

[4] "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 186.

enth century B. C., through land that we know was occu-
d by powerful Thracians. He also states that the
lgæ were exclusively Cimbrians.[1] But we know now
t the Belgæ were Germans. Then, too, Jutland, a Ger-
n country, was called Cimbric Chersonese.[2] We there-
e feel justified in classing the Cimmerians as tribes of
etty thoroughly Germanized Thracians. We do not
n counter to any philological question here, for there is
thing known of their language, beyond the word "Cim-
eric."[3] Grote[4] speaks of the Cimmerians as "perhaps
e northernmost portion of the great Thracian name."
oth Strabo[5] and Tacitus,[6] speak of the Cimbrians as
erman tribes. Until we receive some further light on
e origin of the Cimmerians, we can not be judged very
uch in the wrong if we call them Thracianized Germans.[7]

Their early home was the northern shore of the
Black Sea, in the neighborhood of the Tauric Chersonese;
nd as a souvenir of there presence there, the name Cri-
ea, still clings to that region. As we have stated, they
ave their name to a portion of the Bosporus.[8] They
re mentioned in the Homeric poems,[9] and they must have
een quite an ancient people in the Black sea region.
hey are mentioned by Eusebius as having made a raid
nto Asia Minor early in the eleventh century B. C. As
o other authority mentions this event, it is not given
uch credit.[10] But as the people of Southern Europe were
n the move about this time, as is indicated in the Aeo-
an and Dorian migrations, we should not be surprised if

1 Ibid. 187, note 6. 2 "Encyclopedia Britannica," article "Cimbri."
3 Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 188.
4 "History of Greece," Vol. III. p. 248.
5 Strabo, viii. p. 426. 6 "Germania," chapter 37. 7 Above p. 87.
8 Above p. 88. 9 "Odyssey," book xi. line 13-22.
10 Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. I. p. 290.

this offshoot of the Thracians was also touched by the spirit of migration even at this early date.

To the north and east of the Cimmerians and contemporaneous with them, dwelt the so-called Scyths. They were also a sort of anomalous people, something like the Pelasgians. The philologist has finally admitted them into the great Aryan family.[1] Sayce[2] calls them Sarmatians or Aryan Slaves, and represents them as mingling with Tartars, in the entire region between Thrace and the steppes of Tartary. They had probably been wandering across these fertile plains ever since the ancestors of the Asiatic Aryans had found their way around the northern shores of the Caspian sea into the Hindoo Koosh mountains.[3] And it is interesting to note that the name of one of their prominent tribes, the Melanchlaeric, is identical in meaning with Siah-Poosh,[4] the name of one of the purest Aryan tribes of the Hindoo Koosh region. Both are translated "black cloaks."[5]

We are also interested in noting the characteristics of the Budivi, another tribe of these ancient Scyths, as they are described by Herodotus. They had deep blue eyes and bright red hair. They dwelt in a city which was surrounded with a wall thirty furlongs each way. They had temples built in honor of Grecian gods and adorned with images after Greek fashion.[6] Were these indeed the half-savage people who were wont to plunder the civilized world? Do they not plainly show their German ancestry?

[1] Ibid. Vol. III. p. 203.

[2] See his "Herodotus," book i. chapter 216, note 8.

[3] Above page 57.

[4] Biddulph: "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," tells us that Russian explorers claim that the present Siah-Pooh tribes are Slaves.

[5] Rawlinson: "Herodotus," Vol. III. p. 94, note 2.

[6] Herodotus, iv. 108.

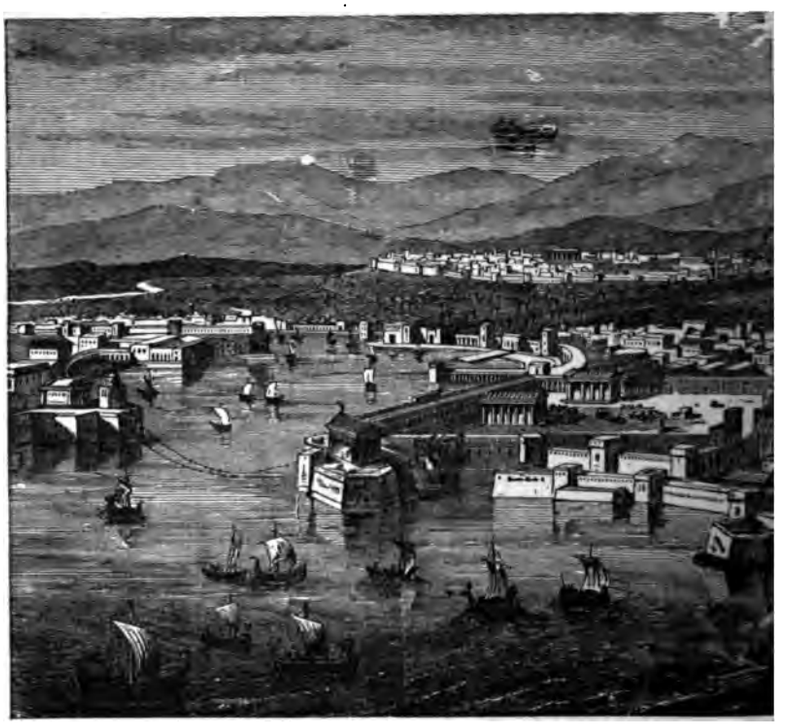
It must be remembered that Herodotus wrote of these Scythic people about the middle of the fifth century B. C. Still he represents them as supplanting the Cimmerians early in the seventh century B. C., and we doubt not that they peopled this region from very remote times. We must remember that the most cultured foreign people were but barbarians in the eyes of Greek and Roman authors. But the so-called barbarians of Europe played too influential a part in shaping the affairs of that continent to be the rude savages that they are represented as being.

Returning now to the Greeks, we are to observe, that, as the period of Grecian colonization drew to a close, Athens and Sparta were rivals for mastery in Greece. Sparta however had become considerably stronger than Athens before 540 B. C. She held sway over all Peloponnesus, and her extremely well disciplined army caused her to be treated with the greatest of respect by all the states of Hellas. In fact, she exercised a recognized ascendancy over all Greece.[1] At Athens, Peisistratus and his descendants, designated as tyrants, ruled, with intervals of expulsion, from 560 to 509 B. C., when Cleisthenes came into prominence and completely changed the state of government in that city. The old tribal organization was completely broken up and the territory of the city was divided into ten territorial divisions, and thus political society founded on territorial relations, took the place of tribal society founded on personal relations.[2]

Shortly previous to 498 B. C., occurred an event wherein the Greeks were brought into prominence in the international affairs of Europe and Asia. The Ionian colo: of Asia Minor had been conquered and added to the Persi...

1 Grote. Vol. II. p 455.
2 See Vol. II. This Series, p. 194.

Empire. They determined to throw off the Persian yoke and called upon Athens for assistance, which was readily granted, and the colonies thus gained their freedom. Darius, the Persian, subdued this revolt, and determined to punish the Athenians for interfering with his affairs. In order that he might not forget his resolve, it is stated that



Athens Under Pericles.

he gave one of his servants the special duty every day, at dinner, of calling out three times, "Master, remember the Athenians."[1] In 493 B. C., Darius planned an expedition against Greece which met with defeat both by land and sea. This new and powerful enemy, however, had the

[1] Herodotus, v. 105.

[illegible] of uniting Greece against a common foe as firmly as Hellenic states were capable of uniting in alliance. The defeat of his army singly exposed Persia to attack. Greeks all the more. He again sent messengers to all Grecian states demanding submission. Athens and [illegible] refused peremptorily, the latter throwing the Persian ambassadors into a deep well with stones to rule from the earth and water as tokens of submission. A



Miltiades at Marathon.

[illegible] Persian army, therefore, [illegible] more determined than ever to conquer. The great eastern army [illegible] twenty-two miles from Athens, planning to march [illegible] that city. But the Greeks, under Miltiades, preferred rather to meet them on the open field, and so a battle ensued took place on the plain of Marathon. The

490 B. C.

result was the overwhelming defeat of the Persian
Marathon passed into history as one of the great
battles of the world. The Spartans did not particip
this battle which occurred during a time in the
when their ancient customs forbade them to engage in

The remainder of Darius' life was spent in pr
tions for a third invasion of Greece, but he did not
realize the desire of his life, the conquest of Greece
sooner, however, did his son, Xerxes, succeed to th
sian throne than he resolved to accomplish what
had begun. The largest army that has ever, in his
times, crossed the border land between the two cont
is said to have been marshalled, equipped, and led a
the almost insignificant handful of Greeks, by the
Persian king himself. The lesson that this great
was taught at the pass of Thermopylæ, and the st
the martyred Leonidas and his three hundred comp
are too well known for mention here. This was fo
by the great naval victory for the Greeks at Sal
The next year, the Grecian fleet crossed the Aegaea
while the Persian army under Mardonius, winteri
Thessaly, invaded Attica.

In that year,[3] occurred on the same day the f
battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks, under Pau
the Spartan, almost annihilated the Persians, ar
naval battle of Mycale, where the fleet of the Pe
was destroyed by that of the Athenians. The
lessons that Persia had received on the memorable
of Mararthon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, and
ale saved the Europeans from any further trouble
that direction. Persian armies did not again try to
the Greeks to subjection. In order, however, to

[1] Grote, IV. p. 342. [2] 480 B. C. [3] 479 B. C.

pared for any future trouble with Persia, the confederacy of Delos, whereby the principal states of Greece were pledged to contribute either ships or money for the maintenance of a navy to keep the Persians out of the Aegaean, gave Athens the care of their funds and navy, and thus elevated that city to the chief rank among the naval powers of that day.

From 479 to 429 B. C., Athens' greatest benefactor, Pericles, was at the head of the State. Though the city had been twice leveled to the ground by the Persians, it was quickly rebuilt. But rebuilt Athens was not the same as Athens of old, simple tribal headquarters. Under Pericles, magnificent buildings were erected and the city was beautified by paintings and statuary. Above all, were her fortifications strengthened by almost Cyclopean walls, leading from the city to the harbor. These walls were two hundred yards apart and extended over four miles, thus uniting the city with her fleet. "The Acropolis was so enriched by magnificent structures that it was called 'the city of the gods.'"[1] In power, Athens led all the Grecian states.



Pericles.

1 Barnes: "History of Greece," p. 25-6.

Abroad, she not only gained the respect of all nations, but inspired fear. "During a single year, she was waging war in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Aegina, and on the coast of the Peloponnesus;"[1] while, at the same time, she maintained her authority at home. In 450 B. C., she extorted a treaty from Artaxerxes, whereby the Grecian cities of Asia Minor were declared independent, and the Persian fleet excluded from the Aegaean sea.[2] It was during this time that Herodotus, the father of history, flourished, and literature and art were at their height.

The remaining events of the political history of Greece are too well known to further occupy much of our attention. Athens had at last become a powerful and magnificent city. The jealous Spartans had long sought an excuse to carry war against their rival power. In 431 B. C., a quarrel arising between Corinth and her colony, Corcyra, Athens and her allies sided with the latter; but Sparta immediately proffered aid to the former. The Hellenic forces were nearly equally divided, and this struggle, called the Peloponnesian war, was continued until 404 B. C. Athens, during this time, had no such hand to guide her affairs as that of Pericles. Her most promising young leader was Alcibiades, who was usually undergoing the punishment of ostracism for some wild escapade just when his country most needed his services. Thus it was when the Athenian forces met with their last disastrous defeat in the harbor of Syracuse in 413 B. C. The city itself held out for ten years longer when Sparta compelled submission. The protecting walls and the magnificent buildings were leveled to the ground, and proud Athens groaned under the oppression of the thirty tyrants.

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

Sparta was now mistress of all Hellas. The five unwalled and defenceless mountain villages dictated to the rest of Greece. Persian money, however, again enabled Athens to rise but only to a shadow of her former grandeur. It seems to have been the plan of Persia to subdue Greece by keeping up this internal strife between Athens and Sparta. With Persian gold, Athens' walls were again rebuilt and her fleets were[1] again able to meet the Spartans on the Aegaean. Then Persia made friends with Sparta



Athenian Fleet before Syracuse.

and compelled both cities to accept the "Peace of Antalcidas,"[2] which surrendered the Greek cities in Asia Minor to Persian rule.

Sixteen years later, there arose in the Boeotian city of Thebes, a leader who succeeded in completely changing the political affairs of Hellas. Epaminondas organized and equipped an army that, in discipline, ranked well with

[1] 394 B. C. [2] 387 B. C.

the Spartan soldiers. When Sparta heard that the Theban army was overthrowing her governments in the Bœotian towns, she sent her forces to put down the rebellion. The famous battle of Leuctra was fought and won by Epaminondas. The stream of Persian gold was now turned



Bust of Alexander.

to Thebes, and Epaminondas, conquering one town after another, was soon the ruler of Hellas. At the battle of Mantinæa,[1] however, he was killed. No one was found

[1] 362 B. C

er him with ability to fill his place, and Hellas soon be-
me a hot-bed of jealous, quarreling, fighting towns and
llages, as bad as it ever was in old tribal times. It only
eded some one firm hand and strong mind equal to the
tuation to change all this into a nation of peace. Such
person arose in the North. A new infusion of Teuto-
ryan blood was needed to invigorate the people of South-
n Europe. The "barbarous" Macedonians came to the
escue of Greece, when Philip of Macedon turned his
rmies toward the south.[1]

Now the Macedonians did not come down into Greece
uninvited. The Phocians, a state that had from time
immemorial been a leading member of the Amphictyonic
council, and had regarded her right to the presidency of
that council as indisputable, had, by some political in-
triguing of her neighbors, been expelled from the league.
She raised an army, took forcible possession of the Tem-
ple of Apollo, and defied the whole Hellenic world. Philip
of Macedon was anxious to be acknowledged as a Greek,
and had laid his plans to take a hand in Grecian affairs.
Thus far he had confined his campaigns to Thessaly and
Thrace, where he had reduced town after town and tribe
after tribe to subjection. While professing to be the friend
of the Athenians, he had taken forcible possession of all
their cities along the coast of Thrace and the Propontis.
He was then the most powerful prince in Europe. In the
course of his campaigns in Thessaly, he met the Phocians
in battle and was conquered by them. His defeat checked
his advance, but strengthened his determination to con-
quer all Greece. One man in Athens seemed from the
first to have detected Philip's intention. Demosthenes,
the greatest orator of his age, delivered oration after ora-

[1] 350 B. C.

tion, exposing the designs of Philip. His Philipics are even to-day considered models of oratory.

Both Athens and Sparta awoke to the importance of the occasion too late. They now rushed to the aid of the Phocians[1] against the common enemy, who was fast approaching the pass of Thermopylæ, the gateway to Attica and the Peloponnesus. Philip now boldly proclaimed his championship of the cause of Apollo against the sacrilegious Phocians and their allies. His army was the best disciplined of any in the world. He had introduced the Macedonian phalanx and other new tactics that rendered his army almost invincible. He had also fitted out quite a navy to co-operate with his land force; and he plundered the merchantmen of the Aegaean for supplies and to interfere with the commerce of Greece. Thus Philip increased in power. In 352 B. C., he defeated the Phocians and their allies in battle. For four years Philip was engaged in subduing the Olynthians, while the rest of Greece looked on,[2] or lent only too tardy an assistance to the besieged city. In 346 B. C., Philip forced the Grecian states to a treaty whereby he was made a representative in the Amphictyonic council in place of the Phocians. Thus did he gain admission into Greece and realize his most cherished desires, for he was made president of the Pythian festival, the highest honor that could be conferred upon a Greek

At last, after Philip had stationed his large and finely disciplined army at the pass of Themopylae and had been admitted with honors as a Greek among Greeks, the oratory of Demosthenes awoke the people of Athens to the lamentable condition of Grecian affairs. Now it must be remembered that Philip had conquered as many cities by

[1] Grote, Vol IX. p. 297-8

[2] 348-344 B. C.

falsehood and intrigue as by open warfare, so that it is not surprising that the Greeks could place no reliance on his word. Athens and Thebes finally united against the Macedonians, but were[1] defeated at the battle of Cheronaea.



Alexander and Aristotle.

Hellas passed at once under Macedonian rule, and the Greeks never again gained their independence until after the Roman empire had become a nation of the past.

Under Macedonian rule Greece was united. The hand of the conqueror held all the petty tribes, as well as the more

[1] 338 B. C.

powerful cities, in entire subjection, and could command united action upon any and every occasion. Such being the case, unlimited resources were placed at the command of the ruling prince. Philip now conceived the idea of carrying Grecian arms into Persia to punish that nation for the injury that she had often inflicted upon Greece, and also to extend his own territory. The hand of the assassin was however uplifted against the king, and Philip of Macedon was slain.[1]

Alexander, the young son of Philip, immediately entered upon the plans of his father. After destroying the city of Thebes as a punishment for revolting, he began his march for Asia at the head of thirty-five thousand well disciplined Grecian and Macedonian troops. His life was a short one, but it was a life of conquest from beginning to end. From Thrace, he entered Asia Minor and fought battle after battle until the terror of his armies, preceding him, led his enemies to pledge submission without resistance. We can follow his troops as they passed down the coast of Asia Minor conquering the armies that met him at every point. Entering Egypt as conqueror and thence passing eastward, he subdued Babylon; at the battle of Issus he overthrew the Persian power; burned Persepolis, and penetrated to the Indus river.[2] He laid the foundation of many new cities, among which was Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile, that became so famous as a seat of learning. In 323 B. C., he died from the effects of dissipation, and so never returned to his native land. During the nine years that he spent in Asia, the history of Greece is almost a blank. As the empire that he attempted to found was completely broken up at his death, Greece gained

[1] 336 B. C.

[2] See note 3, p. 140.

little if anything by his conquests.[1] The government ɔece and Macedon fell to the lot of one of his generals, nder. From 323 B. C., until 146 B.C. the old-time strug- the petty states of Greece for independence was again ed, but with no definite result. In 146 B. C., Greece



Battle of Issus.

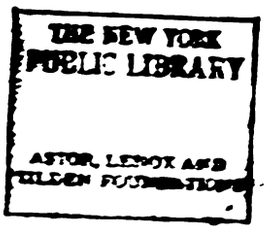
under Roman supervision; and, as such, she enjoyed a e of peace and quiet prosperity before unknown to Hellenic people.

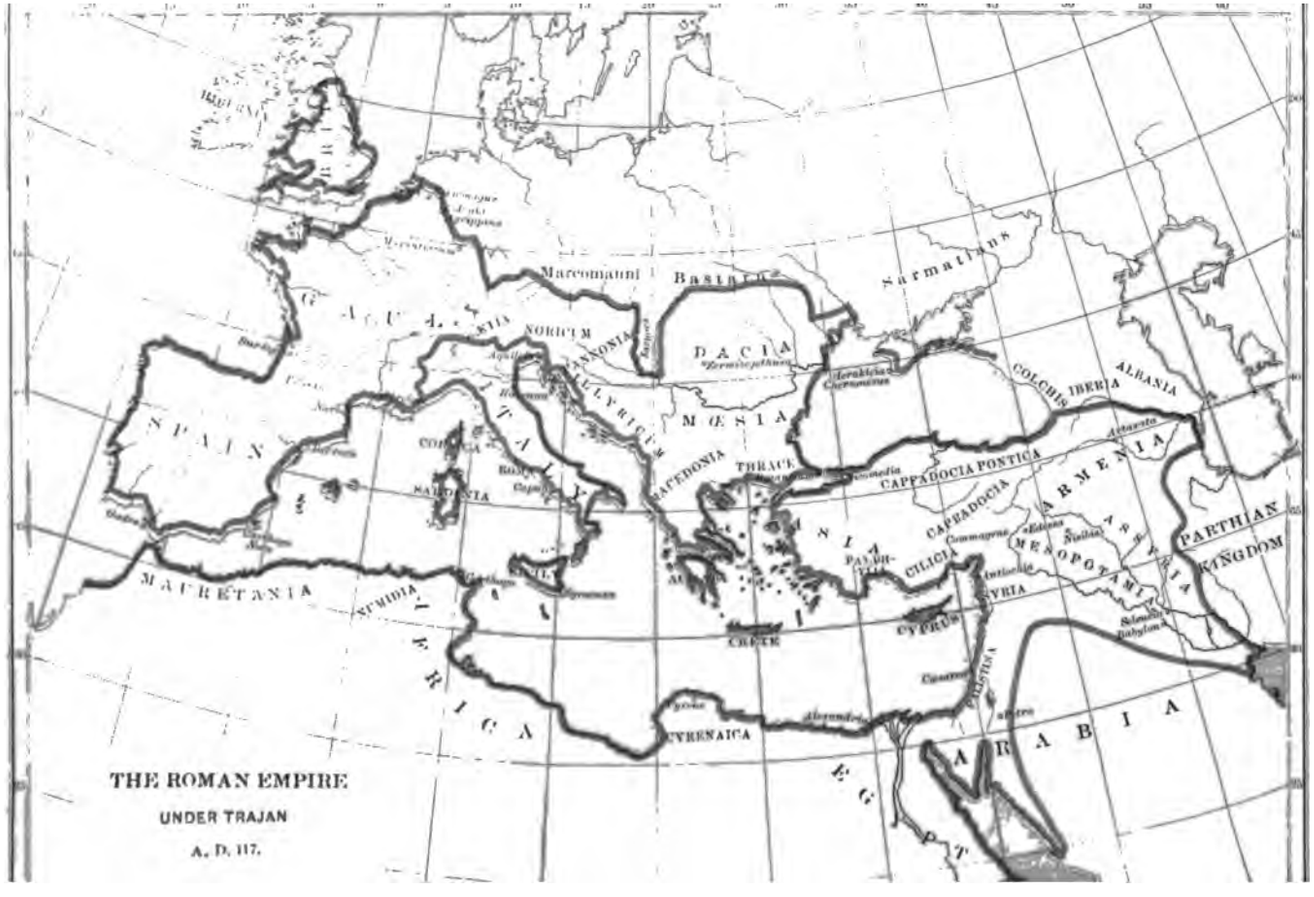
Now, as we glance back over the history of the Aryans uthern Europe, we perceive that their growth has very slow indeed. They were a people of few origi-

[1] In another place we will show the very great influence exerted on ation in general by Alexander's conquests.

nal ideas except the inborn sentiments of liberty a
independence. They were ever ready to adopt ne ide
from the nations with whom they came in contact, a
to develop the same to the highest state of perfectio
Their art was developed from borrowed models, and the
laws were compiled from the laws of foreign princes.

In the arts of war, however, they seem to have be
about the first to originate a system of military tacti
worthy of mention. The Spartan companies of hoplit
were all-powerful, the brotherhood of three hundre
picked Thebans carried everything before them, and th
Macedonian phalanx, under Alexander, was literally in
vincible. In literature, the Greeks were not only origi
nators of several schools, but attained a degree of culture
and refinement that has placed them at the head of the
ancients in every department. And long after she had
lost her place in the political history of the world, she
continued to lead in thought, in philosophy, and in the
fine arts. By no means was this a mean end for this great
and peculiar people.


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THE ROMAN EMPIRE

UNDER TRAJAN

A. D. 117.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN ARYANS

FIRST GLIMPSES OF ITALY—Geographical Description—Phoenicians in Italy—First Aryans in Italy—Greek Colonies in Italy—Celtic Influence in Italy—The Latin Tribes—The Confederacy of Alba Longa Physical Sourroundings of Ancient Rome—The Etruscans—Legends of Ancient Rome—Gallic Invasion of Rome—Architecture of Ancient Rome—Rise of Roman Power—War with Carthage—Extension of Roman Territory—Capture of Carthage—Internal Troubles at Rome—Marius and Sulla—War with Mithridates—Gladiatorial Contests—Spartacus—First Triumvirate—Rise of Caesar to Power—Second Triumvirate—Antony and Cleopatra—The Formation of the Empire—The Beginning of the Decline—The Division of the Empire—Review of the Growth of Rome in territory—Conclusion.



NORTHERN shores of the Mediterranean seem to have been the border line between races during the period of the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds. To the south and south-east of Mediterranean, from time immemorial to modern times, there existed most remarkable civilizations, and there were the homes of the Turanian and Semitic races. Stretching away to the north from the great inland sea even to the lands of the Lapps and Finns, were the homes of the Aryans, the hardiest races of mankind. There was concealed a latent energy and strength of body and mind that were capable of grasping Semitic and Turanian civilization at its summit of development, and bearing it onward to purer ideas, higher modes of life, and more perfect forms of government.

We have seen how fully the Aryan inhabitant the Troad assimilated Assyrian and Babylonian cult customs, and enlightened modes of life, and grew in power dreaded by the pharaohs of Egypt, requiring combined forces of the Hellenic world to crush. The European Aryans to come into contact with eastern ci zation were the Greeks. In tracing their rapid deve ment, we have seen how the Hellenic land was peo by successive waves of immigration from the North; the Phoenicians brought a knowledge of Turanian ci zation to their doors; and how, with Assyrian and B lonian models, the Aryan Greeks leaped to the very nacle of ancient and medieval knowledge and cult What a literature they left to the world; what model architecture; what masterpieces—almost divine—in We have now to consider the gradual rise to a comm ing position in the affairs of the world, of that remark people known as the Romans. Their history and cul fill the entire foreground of the Medieval World. T were the lawgivers of the world, and from the ruir their vast empire, have arisen the various nations modern times.

About the time that Philip of Macedon was con to the front in Grecian affairs, Rome, as a new and ri power, began to exercise a voice among the ruling po of the world. Before the first quarter of the third cen B. C., Rome was scarcely known, though for centuries viously, the Italian peninsula had been an open field viting the spreading Aryan tribes to settle therein. general lay of this peninsula is from northwest to so east. Its semicircular head is cut off from the re Europe by the Alps, the highest mountain barrier of continent. With the Apennines for a backbone, the

ıla shoots out into the Mediterranean for a distance of
ral hundred miles, ending in two spurs which give it
appearance of a boot. Off the toe of this boot is a
ngular shaped island called Sicily. The greatest length
m the Alps to the toe of the boot is some over
en hundred miles. The head of Italy is about three
ndred miles wide, but its average width is only one-
rd as much. Its area, including the islands along the
ores, is about one hundred thousand square miles. The
ad of Italy is the only extensive plain, and comprises
e valley of the Po, or Padus, river.

When we enter the peninsula proper, the rivers are
cessarily very short; and, owing to the many cross ran-
s of mountains and hills, volcanic in character, there
e no plains of any size. We must, however, except
ite an extensive tract of land on the eastern shore as
approach the heel of the boot. This plain was called
pulia, and was noted for its fertility. The western shore
as washed by a portion of the Mediterranean called the
yrrhenian[1] Sea.

Passing southward along the western coast of Italy,
e would pass the mouths of the Arnus, Tiber, Liris, Vul-
rnus and Silarus rivers. The waters of the Aesis, Ater-
s, Tifernus, Trento, Cerbalus, and Aufidus flow toward
e east, finding there way into the Adriatic. Lying to
e west, at some distance out into the Mediterranean,
re the two extensive islands of Corsica and Sardinia.
ıe soil of these, as well as that of Sicily, was noted for
fertility.

In ancient times, Italy was cut up into a number of
all states, each of which was peopled by a confederacy
allied and kindred tribes. The head of the peninsula

[1] From the Greek name for the Etruscans.

was the home of the Ligurians on the west, the Venetian on the east, and the Upper Etruscans between.[1] Central Italy, or the upper portion of the peninsula proper, extended down to the mouths of the Silarus on the one side and the Tifernus on the other. It comprised the six states that subsequently played prominent parts in the legendary history of the peninsula. These were Etruria, Latium, and Campana, to the west; Umbria, Picenum, and the Sabine territory to the east. Southern Italy contained four countries; Lucania, and Bruttium, on the west; Apulia and Iapygia, or Messapia, on the east.[2] The opposite shore of the Adriatic was peopled by tribes of Illyrians, kindred of the Macedonians.

The Phoenicians were, no doubt, familiar with the coast of Italy long before the Greeks dared venture upon the open seas. How early these daring merchants began trading along these shores, we have no means of ascertaining; but there is no doubt, that they found the whole peninsula teeming with a population ready to barter native products for their Oriental wares. We recognize two distinct races among these primitive inhabitants of Italy and there is satisfactory evidence that both these races were but immigrants that had in earlier, pre-historic times, supplanted a more primitive race.[3] These two races were Aryan and Turanian. The traces that we find of that earlier people are so few and unsatisfactory, that we can only surmise that they were dark-skinned and extremely

[1] Such is the ordinary belief regarding the early inhabitants of Northern Italy. [See Rawlinson: "Manual.] But Dr. Freeman distinctly states that they were more likely Gauls than Etruscans in the center and in the valley of the Po. "Geography of Europe," Vol. I. p 47 and note.

[2] Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 323-333.

[3] Taylor: "Etruscan Researches," p. 11-12, London, 1874.

de in their social life. In earlier times, we do not find e lines of separation between the races so strongly arked that we can assign to each a definite portion of talian territory. On the other hand, we find here and here, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a onfederacy of Turanians in almost an isolated position, urrounded by Aryan states. So, likewise, we find some Aryan confederacies similarly situated as regards Turanans. Then there appear other tribes bearing such evident narks of a mixed origin, that we can not assign them any efinite racial place.

The question as to where the earliest historic inhabiants of Italy came from is an interesting one to us. The acts, that the Aryans were immigrants; that the Greek olonists found Sicily inhabited by Turanians, a part of whom had been driven down from the peninsula; that some of these Turanians were of Iberian origin and, probably, kindred of the Etruscans and Ligurians—all go to prove that the Aryan civilization of Italy was built upon a lower sub-stratum of Turanian life.[1] When the Aryans entered Italy, therefore, they found the land occupied by Turanians, just as they did every other portion of the continent. We are further convinced of this by existing proofs in the shape of monuments, inscriptions, and other remains. From these, we learn that Etruscan territory once extended much further south than when this people came known to Greek historians. There is evidence, that Capua was an Etruscan city, and that the Etruscans were the ruling power from the Alps on the north to the Gulf of Salerno on the south.[2]

No records extend back to the time when bands of

[1] See Ramsey's "Europe," p. 484, London, 1885.
[2] "Etruscan Researches," p. 15.

Aryans began to find their way into Italy. Tradition says, that the ancestors of the Iapygians followed the coast of the Adriatic around from Epirus into Italy.[1] There are other legends, according to which plundering bands of refugees from Troy found permanent homes in Italy.[2] We are told also, that the Latins came into Central Italy from the north along the western coast,[3] that they were later incomers than the Iapygians, and that they "pressed with great weight" upon the population of the southern regions. This all tends to confirm the statement, that there was, from time immemorial, a constant influx of Aryans, both by land and sea, to the Italian peninsula.

As we have seen, the first Grecian colony, the date of whose foundation can be relied upon, was established in Sicily in 735 B. C. But it is very evident, that bands of Greeks had long before this found their way across the Adriatic. Then, too, near the site of modern Naples, a Grecian colony had existed for a long time before vessels from Chalcis landed the first settlers at Naxos, which is the oldest Greek settlement, of which we have authentic history. When Campanian Cumæ was founded and where the colonists came from, even the ancients had forgotten. That they were Greeks was all that could be positively asserted of them. The first vessels known to have brought new colonists to Cumæ were said to be from Aeolic Cyme of Asia Minor. But still, in historical times, Chalcis was the metropolis of Cumae, just as it was of Naxos. Tradition places the date of the foundation of Cumæ way back in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. B. C.[4] On the

1 Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 336.

2 Virgil: "Aenaeid," Book i. 7-12; also Livy: "History of Rome," ch. i. 3 Rawlinson, Op. cit. p. 336. 4 The common date was 1050 B. C., but some authors carry it back to 1139 B.C. Grote: "History of Greece," Vol. III. p .356-360. Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II. p. 131-8.

opposite side of the peninsula and a little farther to the north, was located the Greek colony of Ancona, but nothing definite is known of its foundation. It was there when history dawns on Italy.[1] By the close of the eight century B. C., we find Grecian adventurers pouring into Sicily and Southern Italy so rapidly that the shores were soon lined with villages. The country was given the name of Magna Grecia, and was for several centuries regarded as a portion of Greece proper, to whom the colonists looked for assistance in war and protection from oppressive foes.

The Celts were, doubtless, in possession of the Po valley as early as the Latins were of the hills of Latium.[2] As neither history nor tradition informs us to the contrary, we have no doubt that they occupied Cis-Alpine Gaul even before there were any such tribes as the Latins in Italy. They simply prepared the way for their kindred (the Italians) to enter the Italian peninsula. The legend is probably right in stating that the Iaypgians came from the north down the Adriatic coast. They were probably Pelasgians making their way down from the Aryan homeland.[3] The Celtic Latins followed them up pretty closely although they were probably later in point of time. The one descended along the eastern, and the other along the western coast of the peninsula. The Etruscans, between, were strong enough, perhaps, to keep them from over-running Tyrrhenian lands. The only Etruscan city, Populonia, near the coast would not be much of a barrier to the Celtic migration.[4] These two streams of migration in time met, and fused with the stream of Greeks that was colonizing Magna Grecia. Celtic Latins, Pelasgic Iapyg-

[1] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 47.
[2] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 47
[3] Grote, Vol. III. p. 350.
[4] Mommsen: "History of Rome," Vol. I. p. 170.

ians, and Hellenic Thracians would probably include the Aryans of the Italian peninsula; and a mixture of these people would give us the peculiar ethnical result known as the Ancient Roman. This Aryan mixture soon succeeded in forcing the Etruscans to the north of the Tiber. There we find the latter in rather close quarters when authentic history of Italy begins.

Nor is language silent on this subject. There was formerly a school of historians who insisted upon deriving Latin from Greek.[1] When they were convinced that they were wrong, a hypothetical language was constituted. It was called "Pelasgic," and was made the common parent of the dialects of Greece and Italy. Being as indefinite as the race of people that furnished the name, it was found wholly unsatisfactory, and that theory was abandoned. Greek and Latin are Aryan tongues, and, of course, must have come from the same source, the primitive Aryan language. But, as Professor Sayce remarks, "it is no longer possible to believe that the relation between Greek and Latin is especially close. Latin gravitates rather toward the Celtic languages."[2] Speaking more plainly, then, Latin is nearer related to Celtic than to Greek.[3]

"Mountains repeat and rivers murmur the voices of nations denationalized or extirpated."[4] No people will pass through a country, stopping here and there to spend a winter or to raise a crop of corn, as tribes do on their migratory tours, without leaving names which will forever cling to the villages, mountains, and rivers along their

[1] Keane in Ramsay's "Europe," p. 561.

[2] "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 106.

[3] See also "Celtic Britain," London, 1884, p. 1, by J. Rhys, Professor of Celtic, University of Oxford; also consult Whitney: "Life and Growth of Language," p. 194.

[4] See Palgrave: "History of Normandy and England," Vol. I. p. 709.

ıtes. The river names are memorials of the very ear-
st inhabitants of a country. In studying the geograph-
l names of Europe, we can detect the presence of Celts
er the greater portion of Southwestern Europe before
y other Aryan tribes had traversed this region. In
aly, "we find villages which bear Teutonic or Romance
mes, standing on the banks of streams which still re-
in their ancient Celtic appellations."[1] Thus have the lo-
tions of several ancient Celtic colonies been found in
entral Italy.[2] All this tends to the conclusion, that
hile, and even before, the Greeks were finding their
ay across the Adriatic, and, pressing northward in their
arch for homes and plunder, the Celts were descending
om their Trans-Alpine homes in search of better pasture
ds upon the Italian hills.

When we consider the modern Italians and Latin
eaking people in general, we will find that they have no
hnical unity.[3] Romance languages are spoken in por-
ons of America as well as in various European countries.
ut in ancient times in Italy, we can understand how the
lts pressed downward and the Hellenic immigrants
ssed upward, while the Turanians were either crushed
ween them or absorbed. Central Italy, then, must
re been a common battle ground where races were fight-
for bare existence. From the midst of this fighting
ss, we at last catch a glimpse of a tribe of Ramnes
wly but surely rising into supremacy. The fabulous
f had come down to the Tiber to drink, and the royal
ns were nourished by the food that she brought them.

Among the Italian tribes, the Latins occupy the most

1 Taylor: "Words and Places," London, 1865, p. 195.
2 Ibid. p. 41.
3 Keane in Ramsay's "Europe," p. 565.

important position. They settled along the southern b
of the Tiber, occupying a rugged, hilly district, seven h
dred square miles in area,[1] which would seem to h
been poorly fitted
the development of
hardy Roman peo
Across the Tiber
the north, were
Turanian Etrusca
with whom the Lat
waged continual w
fare. But in wars
races, the Aryans h


Capitoline Wolf.

always been pretty firmly united against a common
The Latins were surrounded by the Sabines, the Samni
and the Campanians. Though forever involved in tri
warfare among themselves, they were often allied agai
the Etruscans. There were thirty tribes of Latins. E
tribe had well organized tribal headquarters, which
often mentioned by historians as the thirty Latin citi
The fact, that thirty tribes of shepherds occupied o
seven hundred square miles of territory, and had room
new colonies to grow into tribes, is sufficient evidence t
these headquarters were not cities in the modern se
of the word.

These thirty Latin tribes, however, formed a conf
eracy, powerful enough to make the Etruscans fear the
and even to command respect from the more numer
Sabines on the east. The headquarters of this conf
eracy were at Alba Longa, the home of the Alban tri
The supremacy of the Albans seems to have been undis

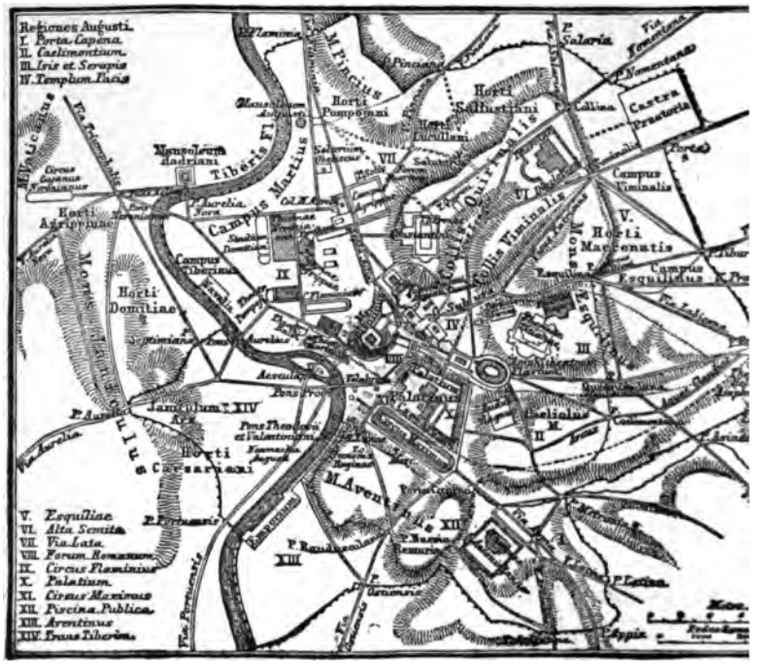
[1] Mommsen: "Rome," Vol. I. p. 60.

ted for a long time; and, as they grew and increased in power, the population, no doubt, became, from time to time, too great for the territory. Colonial bands would be encouraged to make for themselves homes in the adjacent country. The young tribes or colonies thus formed would receive the aid and protection of the mother tribe so long as they did not become rebellious.

The Tiber, that formed the northwestern boundary of Latium, was the most important river of the peninsula, and was, no doubt, the thoroughfare by which the trading vessels of the Phoenicians reached the interior tribes and the war ships of the Etruscans found their way into the open sea. About fourteen miles from the mouth of the Tiber and on its left bank, are located a group of seven hills (the Romans called them mountains), that have been rendered immortal by the many fables and legends that cling to their early history. As we ascend the river, we pass in order the Aventine, the Palatine, and, finally, the Capitoline hills. Here the river makes a great bend toward its right bank, thus forming a level plan that bears the name of Campus Martius. Before the great stone quay was constructed, this level plain was overflowed during high water. Bordering this plain to the east, is another of the seven hills which bears the name Quirinal. The other three—called Caelian, Esquiline, and Virinal—were ranged back of the first three mentioned. These last named were not located along the river bank. As will be seen from the map, this group of hills occupy a commanding position on the river. From their number they were called the "Septimontium."

These hills were of volcanic origin and remarkable for the sterility of the soil. Great natural basins had been formed in their midst, which, when full of water,

were beautiful lakes. But the heat of a southern very often transformed them into fever-breeding distr So that the climate of Rome was not healthful and water supply was insufficient. But the location wa enough importance to counteract all this. Were we t quire, however, when these hills were first peopled would meet with a great mass of conflicting legends tot



Map of Rome.

improbable and unworthy of a place in any writing pretends to historical recognition. We may just as sonably search for gleams of historical truth in Ger Folk-lore, or in Mother Goose Melodies as in the leg of Rome. The historian who tries to build upon the building on a foundation of sand.

Ethnology and a knowledge of the general movem of the races that inhabited Europe in pre-historic ti

have given us a pretty accurate knowledge of the origin of the different people who early found their way into the Italian peninsula. It took the Aryan tribes a long while to Aryanize even the central and southern part of Italy. As we have stated, the whole peninsula was, no doubt, for some time prior to the arrival of the Aryans covered by a Turanian population. The legends of Rome tell us but very little of these earlier people. We must search in other records for their footprints, and shall, no doubt, find traces of their presence.

There is another source of information regarding ancient Rome that we must not overlook, for it furnishes us with interesting, valuable, and reliable knowledge. The discoveries of archaeologists are throwing light upon the ages of all ancient history, that enables us to see clearly many truths that were hidden from the visions of our predecessors. In 1883 the spade of the archaeologist unearthed under the Esquiline hill some very primitive tombs. Previous to this on the same hill, had been discovered a large necropolis. These ruins probably date from a much more remote period than the alleged foundation of Rome. They are of Etruscan origin, and scholars, on the whole, admit that they are relics of the pre-historic people whom the Aryans conquered. But one significant fact is, that the pottery found among these ruins bears such decorations as to prove that at least the designs were borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia.

Here, again, we run across the work of the Phoenicians, for they undoubtedly were instrumental in bringing these vessels, or a knowledge of this kind of work, to the shores of Italy.[1] The Etruscans were no mean foes for for the Romans to contend with. We have seen how the Turanian

[1] Middleton: "Ancient Rome," p. 42-3.

population of Asia arose to the summit of ancient civilization.[1] The Etruscans were Turanians, related to the Accadians, Elamites, Susians, and Proto-Medes;[2] and the indications are, that they had also attained a higher state of culture than any other European members of their race. They were known to the Greeks as *Tyrrhenians*, to the Latins as *Etruscans*, and they called themselves *Rasena*.[3] They were a great commercial people[4] before the legendary founding of Rome. Their war ships appeared on the coasts of Egypt before the time of Rameses III.[5]



Janus.

Though their history is built upon the ruins of a long forgotten power and opulence, we are surprised at the immensity and abundance of these remains. "The internal history of Etruria is written on the mighty walls of her cities. . . . It is to be read on graven rocks, and on painted walls of tombs."[6] But there are none to interpret her inscriptions. A Scipio might have preserved for us a clew to unravel these riddles of a lost people, but forgotten is the tongue that they spoke, and no one can now interpret to us these messages from their tombs.[7]

1 This Series, Vol. II.

2 See Taylor: "Transactions of International Congress of Orientalists," 1874, p. 176.

3 "Etruscan Researches," p. 11., cf. the word Turanian.

4 Mommsen's "Rome," Vol. I. p. 195.

5 This Series, Vol. II. p. 598.

6 Dennis: "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," Vol. I. p. xxiii.

7 All modern and ancient languages have been searched and studied in vain for a key by which to read Etruscan inscriptions. Dr. Taylor thinks that he has at last traced Etruscan to the Altai group of languages. See his works referred to in this chapter.

Judging from the remains of her cities and cemeteries, Etruria of old was densely populated. Her cities must have compared favorably with those of the ancient Orient. To support its population, the land must have been under a high state of cultivation. Though Dennis[1] may use too glowing colors when he paints his pictures of Etruscan life, we may with profit glance at his pen-sketch of a portion of that land restored. "What is now the marsh or jungle, the haunt of the wild boar, the buffalo, the



Etruscan Graves.

stork, and the noxious reptile, where man often dreads to carry his steps, and hurries away as from a plague-stricken land, of old yielded rich harvests of corn, wine, and oil, and numerous cities, mighty and opulent, into whose laps commerce poured the treasures of the East, and the more precious products of Hellenic genius."

Etruria must have represented the culmination of European Turanian civilization. That she figured in the affairs of the Pharaohs proves the high antiquity of her power, and reveals to us the origin of that Egyptian influence, a trace of which is detected in her art and

[1] Op. cit. xxix. xxx.

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1 "Etruscan Researches,

2 The whole matter of the
Ihne: "History of Rome," V
History," Vol. I. Schwegeler
"History of the Kings of Rome,"

3 Dr. Taylor "Etruscan Rese
with the Turanian, "wolf people"
rape of the Sabine women is, perha
intermarriage of two tribes, as contr

he condition in which we find Roman life when the
f authentic history first dawns upon the Septimon-



Brutus Condemning his Son to Death.
Mythological Period.

matters little whether we have the details of Rome's
truggle with the Turanians or not. The first five
les of her history are utterly insignificant even from
nd-point of the legendary historian. Though the

legendary chronology places the foundation of Rome i year 753 B. C., it was not until 423 B. C. that the Etru village of Fidenae was conquered,[1] though it was only miles up the river. The Etruscan village of Veii was ten miles from Rome. Many are the legendary wars battles fought between these two cities. The legends



Cornelia and Her Sons. [The Gracchi.]

however, that, while the Gauls were fighting Etruri the north, the Roman army slipped over there and, ten years constant siege, succeeded in reducing the V ites to subjection. This great conquest is recorded fo B. C., over three hundred and sixty years after the fo

[1] Rawlinson's "Manual," p. 363.

of Rome. As a remarkable climax to the martial ess of Rome, it is record that four hundred and eigh- years after her foundation she had conquered the whole atium—a district seven hundred square miles in area, than an average county in a western state. In 280 B.C., e did, however, become known to the outside world. se her armies then for the first time met foreign s even on Italian soil. Authentic Roman history be said to commence with that date.

We shall, however, be compelled to adopt the periods which historians divide Roman history in order to our further remarks intelligible to the reader. Thus convenient to consider three periods in the life of the an people—the Regal period,[1] the Republic or Com- realth,[2] and the Imperial period or the Empire.[3] The division rests upon a legendary foundation, the second re authentic, and the last[4] is the date of the dissolu- of the Western Empire. Our knowledge of tribal deracies and of the origin of government would lead expect a regal period in the life of the Roman people; this whole period has been sufficiently treated in er place; and we will refer the reader to that place knowledge of the constitution and government of l Rome and the origin and nature of the two great ions of its people; the Patricians and the Plebeians.[5]

There is one event in early Roman history that stares the face at every point, forces its reality upon us, thus serves as a starting point in her history. This first recorded invasion by the Gauls after Roman his- begins. All authorities agree in fixing the date at . It is not strange that the Aryan tribes had, as

[1] 753-509 B. C. [2] 509-31 B. C. [3] 31 B. C.-476 A. D. [4] A. D. 476.
[5] See Vol. II. p. 195-204.

early as that, at least, begun to press down over the Alps. At last, they crossed the Apennines in large numbers. The Etruscans were forced to shut themselves up in their towns, and to buy off the invaders with gold and plunder. At last they reached Rome, defeated her armies, and entered and plundered the city. The capitol is said to have been saved by Roman gold. If Rome had any system of keeping records, from which her early history could



The Gauls in Rome.

have been ascertained, such records were all distroyed at this time.[1] Though writing was, no doubt, in vogue in Italy at an early period, we can thus understand why we have no authentic history of early Rome. These Gauls finally departed from Rome, and tradition follows them through Thrace across the Hellespont, and into Western Asia.[2]

[1] Dyer "Kings of Rome," p. 28, argues that the records known as "Annales Maximi," were not wholly destroyed. [2] Above page 36.

The light of authentic history, which at last breaks over the Appennines, thus reveals to us Rome, risen from the ashes of a Gallic invasion and taking her place among the powers of the infant Aryan World. As to the beginning of this period, Sir George Lewis has so satisfactorily calculated the date, that we quote from him.[1] He fixes the termination of the Republican period at the death of Pompey in 48 B.C. "If we take our departure from this point, and ascend the stream of Roman history, we shall find that we are accompanied by native contemporary authors, in the strictest sense of the word, for 177 years, up to the commencement of the Gallic war, in the 529th year of the city, or 225 B. C.; that, with an allowable latitude of construction, this period may be extended to 216 years, up to the commencement of the first Punic War, in the 490th year of the city, or 264 B.C.; and that, if we call in the assistance of contemporary Greek writers, we may mount as far back as 233 years, to the 473rd year of the city, or 281 B. C., when Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and the Romans came for the first time into conflict with an army of Greeks."

Back of the above date, then, we have to rely on the archaeologist for information as to ancient Rome. But considerable has now been made out as to their knowledge of art and practical sciences. The Romans were neither artisans nor architects. They looked to Etruria for everything in this line, until Hellenic culture, in its spread, reached the banks of the Tiber. So marked are these indications that what remains of Roman architecture is grouped under three stages of development: Etruscan, Hellenic, and Roman.[1] The same

1 "Early Roman History," p. 19-20.
2 "Ancient Rome," p. 20.

tomb has been found to contain wall paintings of Homeric scenes, doors and cornices of Egyptian type, and painted vases of Assyrian and Babylonian styles[1] The "Wall of Romulus" was built after Etruscan models, and probably by Etruscan workmen.[2] We are told that the Etruscans were the metal workers for all Europe. The iron founderies at Elba supplied nearly the whole world, and the remains about their work-shops prove that they had an enormous trade in copper and bronze implements.[3] Many of the Latin building words are probably of Etruscan origin.[4] The earliest blocks of stone used in building were worked with metallic tools.[5] Etruscan workmen were the architects of the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. Their knowledge of drainage was brought into use when the great sewer, called Cloaca Maxima, was constructed. Whenever Rome would raise any public building, she employed Etruscan artificers.[6]

The catalogue of Etruscan works at Rome could be enlarged indefinitely, but enough has been mentioned to show how extensive was this foreign influence. To Etruscan knowledge and culture, Rome added "her virtues, her thirst of conquest, and her indomitable courage,"[7] all of which were to a great degree lacking in her almost effeminate neighbors. Etruscan scholars, however, do not hesitate to claim for that people everything that is cultivating and refining in not only Roman, but even in modern Italian life. Prince Bonapart[8] calls standard Italian "the Tuscan

[1] Ibid.

[2] Conquered Etruscans were Roman slaves. It is more probable that they were forced to do this work for their masters than that hired workmen were imported. We, however, follow authorities on this point.

[3] Taylor: "Transactions I. C. O. 1874, p. 176.

[4] Ibid. p. 174.

[5] "Ancient Rome," p. 25.

[6] "Etruria," Vol. I. p. lxi.

[7] "Etruria," p. xxii.

[8] "Transactions of Philological Society," 1882-4, p. 179-80.



ALPHONSE DE NEUV

4 WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON CASTLES AGA
THE ROMANS.

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dialect," and mentions Dante, Petrarch, and [illegible] "Tuscan luminaries" while Dr. Taylor[1] even c[illegible]t the leading schools of art are in cities once b[illegible]ng the old Etruscan dominion; and that "Gi[illegible]o, Angelico, Ghirlandajo, Masacio, I[illegible]no, Fra Barto[illegible], Leonardo, Coreggio, Garofalo, [illegible]l Angelo, [illegible] Francia, Guido Reni, Domenichino, a[illegible]t Caracci," were not only Tuscans but probably of [illegible] orig[illegible] it required in Etruria, as in other [illegible] of the Aryan blood, energy, and mental and [illegible] reng carry this knowledge of the arts [illegible] to [illegible] pitch of development that they have [illegible]l. To Aryan, is due the credit of entering u[illegible]n such Turanian civilizations; and, when [illegible]y [illegible] and about to fall under the weight of [illegible] carry them forward to a more per[illegible] of th[illegible] ness, vigor and grandeur.

After all, Rome had attained no great celebrity for architecture and buildings until near the close of the [illegible] publican period. The Etruscan ceremony of encircling the headquarters of a newly established tribe with a furrow made by a plow drawn by a cow and a bull, was probably early celebrated in the case of Rome.[2] The so-called "Wall of Romulus" followed the direction of this furrow,[3] inclosing a portion or the whole of the Palatine hill; and this enclosure has since been called Roma Quadrata, from the rectangular shape of the building blocks used. These central grounds were afterwards enlarged by a wall, attributed to Servius, so as to include the whole "Septimontium," and considerable space beyond and between the

[1] "Etruscan Researches."
[2] See Coulanges: "Ancient City."
[3] "Ancient Rome," p. 44, note.

seven hills.[1] The Forum Magnum was a large open space between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, where assemblies of people were wont to be held. It was rectangular in shape and was, in later times, surrounded by spacious halls where courts of justice might sit. It was here, at a later day, that gladiatorial fights were witnessed which will



Entrance to the Capitol.

forever tarnish the glories of Rome. Between the Palatine and the Aventine hills, was a long, rectangular valley, called the Circus Maximus, or great Circus. Here were celebrated the great games for which Rome was noted.

[1] Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 348.

As has been said, the Campus Martius was a great plain without the walls of the city, though above it and near the river's bank. Here the Roman youth engaged in martial sports and the largest assemblies of the people were held. Here, also, the army was wont to assemble at the sound of the horn and listen to commands. A stone wall, bearing many marks of Etruscan workmanship, was early begun and, in time, run along both sides of the Tiber the entire length of the city front.[1] Previous to 142 B. C., the only bridge across the Tiber was constructed of wood, so as to be easily cut down in case of danger from an invasion.

The whole of Etruria was noted for its system of sewerage. It is not surprising, then, that Rome, whose hills were interspersed with marshy, malarial districts, should have looked to matters of health. When the great sewer, called Cloaca Maxima, was constructed, it would be hard to tell, but it is attributed to Tarquin II. It was a wonderful piece of workmanship, and finally developed into a perfect system of drainage. Though the water supply was always poor at Rome, it was not until near the middle of the Republican period that a known system of water works was introduced. It was in the Censorship of Appius Claudius, that the first acqueduct was constructed. It brought the water from a distance of seven or eight miles. In the first century of our era, the city had so increased in size as to require nine of these great water courses to furnish it with a necessary supply.[2] The same year,[3] the first of those great highways, which, in Imperial times, connected Rome with the ends of the

[1] At one place, not far from the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, a piece of the original wall exists, with projecting lion heads, sculptured in bold and effective Etruscan style. "Ancient Rome," p. 78.

[2] "Ancient Rome," p. 466. [3] Probably 313 B. C.

world, was built. This was the Via Appia, or Appian road, and extended from Rome to Capua.[1] These roads were master-pieces of engineering, and constructed regardless of the amount of human labor required. Valleys were bridged over by massive stone viaducts, and mountains of solid rock were cut through, in order to make the road level and straight.



Appian Way.

The principal architectural remains of the Regal and early Republican periods are altars and temples. There were the altars of Saturn and Vulcan; and, at a later date, though built on the site of an older altar, there was in Rome also an "altar to the unknown god." The temple of Vesta, of Janus, and of Castor were among the oldest

[1] Ibid. p. 477-8.

ldings at Rome. But the earliest, as well as the st celebrated of these ancient buildings, was the temple Jupiter Capitolinus on the Capitoline hill. The legend ys, that Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter; but it is well known historical fact, that the Etruscans were wont erect in every new settlement a temple to their triad of



Facade of Jupiter Stator's Temple.

ds, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The triple nature of is temple was undoubted: and, as its architecture is of truscan style, it probably belongs to pre-Roman times, ough its foundation was attributed to Tarquin I. The tatue of Jupiter, also, was modeled by an Etruscan sculp-r. This ancient building was "numbered among the ven sacred relics, on the preservation of which the wel-

fare of Rome depended."[1] It was burned in 83 B
though subsequently rebuilt on a much grander scale.

Resuming the thread of history once more, we
commence with the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, wh
as we have seen, Sir George Lewis thinks is about
far back as we have historical light to guide us. W
each conflict of Rome with her neighbors, we shall see
emerge with increased power and influence. This
long after the termination of the so-called Regal peri
about the middle of the period of the Commonwealth.
281 B. C., Rome violated her treaty with the Greek c
of Tarentum by stationing a fleet in the forbidden wat
of their bay. The Tarentines resented this act by atta
ing the fleet and sinking a number of vessels. War
declared. The Tarentines appealed to Greece for a
Epirus sent an army of twenty-five thousand Greek troc
under Pyrrhus, to their assistance.

The Romans, however, had already attained su
power, that the combined Grecian forces could not co
with them. The army that Pyrrhus brought with h
was at last destroyed, and the colonies were, one
one, subjugated. The Grecian general is said to ha
quitted Italy in 276 B. C., and all opposition in t
southern part of the peninsula was met and subdued
266 B. C.. Roman arms were at the same time carr
north, and when, at the close of the year 265 B. C., V
sinii, chief of Etruscan strongholds, was taken and ra
to the ground, "Rome reigned supreme over the leng
and breadth of Italy."[2]

Rome next interferred in a quarrel between some

[1] "The other six are said to have been the needle of Cybele; ashes of Orestes; the veil of Ilione; the scepter of Priam; the anc of Mars, and [chief of all] the Palladium."

[2] Rawlinson: "Manual" p. 378-9.

rates at Messina, a town at the extreme north end of Sicily, and Carthage. A war with Carthage was the result. It lasted twenty-three years,[1] and resulted in favor of Rome. This war is known in history as the First Punic War. Sicily was made an independent ally of Rome. During this war, the naval power of Rome was greatly increased, and her arms were carried into Africa for the first time. The Cis-Alpine Gauls were, no doubt, continually encroaching upon Roman territory, as they were pressed forward by the restless tribes continually crossing the Alps. Rome was even compelled to act on the defensive against their inroads. She, determining at last to conquer them, became an aggressor in 232 B. C. by planting colonies in Gallic territory. Seven years later,[2] the Gauls crossed the Apennines and advanced upon Rome, but were driven back. The Roman army followed them into the valley of the Po, and, in 222 B. C., extended the dominion of Rome to the Alps, making Cis-Alpine Gaul a province. But in the meantime,[3] a Roman fleet, under the plea of driving the Illyrian pirates from the Adriatic crossed over and established the authority of Rome in Illyria, Dalmatia, and the adjoining islands. Thus the Greeks established those fatal bonds of friendship with Rome which, not only in their case but in all other cases, soon became the bonds of servitude.

Though the armies of Carthage had been conquered, her spirit had not been subdued. We all call to mind how the infant Hannibal swore at the altar of Baal eternal enmity toward the Romans. The young Hannibal had now grown into manhood. Reared in the camps of the Carthagenian army engaged in the conquest of Spain, he succeeded in 220 B. C., to the command of the forces, and

[1] 264-241 B. C. [2] 225 B. C. [3] 230 B. C.

at once began preparations to invade Italy. He chose a route by land across the Alps, and, in 218 B. C., started on his journey with an enormous army and great stores of munitions of war. Two years of Carthagenian conquests followed; but then, Hannibal found himself in the heart of Italy, surrounded by Roman forces, and unable to get reinforcements from Carthage. Now came the time for



Hannibal Swearing Vengeance on Rome.

Rome to revenge the slaughter of the flower of her youth on the field of Caunae.[1] Still for fourteen years longer, Hannibal remained in Italy defying Roman power. At length, Rome carried the war into Carthagenian territory, and Hannibal was recalled to defend his native city, only, however, to be defeated at the battle of Zama by Scipio Africanus, which led to the submission of Carthage.[2] As

1 The story is told that after the battle, 216 B. C.,, Hannibal gathered a bushel of gold rings from the fingers of the wealthy Romans that lay slaughtered on the field, and sent them to Carthage to prove the fatality of the day to the Romans. 2 201 B. C.

a result of this war. Rome not only maintained her authority, but again established her supremacy. The terms of her treaty with Carthage, though probably no more severe than might be expected, was such as to forever cripple a maritime power. Carthage could no longer hold possessions outside of the African continent; she could not engage in foreign war without the consent of Rome; she was forced to surrender all her ships, except ten; and, finally, she was forced to pay tribute to Rome. Still Carthage flourished though crestfallen and robbed of her riches and power.[1]



Hannibal.

Hannibal, the greatest of Carthagenian generals, was finally driven from the city by enemies. He fled to the Syrian court, and was instrumental in stirring up a war between that country and Rome, disastrous to the former. Pursued by the Romans into Bithynia, he put an end to his own life rather than fall into the hands of his [illegible] enemies.

By the terms of peace, Rome gained two provinces in Spain. She also had the best of excuses for the complete subjugation of all the unfriendly portions of Italy.

[1] Swinton's "Manual," p. 306-5.

This she effectively accomplished. In the meantime she had entered into alliance with Egypt, Rhodes, and other eastern people. The Macedonians had at first openly assisted Carthage, but a Roman army soon compelled them to make peace. But even after this, Macedonia



Proclaiming Liberty to the Greeks.

secretly befriended Carthage, as well as carried on war with Egypt and Rhodes; so that, as soon as opportunity offered, a Roman army was again sent into Macedonia. Now Rome's military tactics were of a two-fold nature. No power had yet been able to successfully defeat her

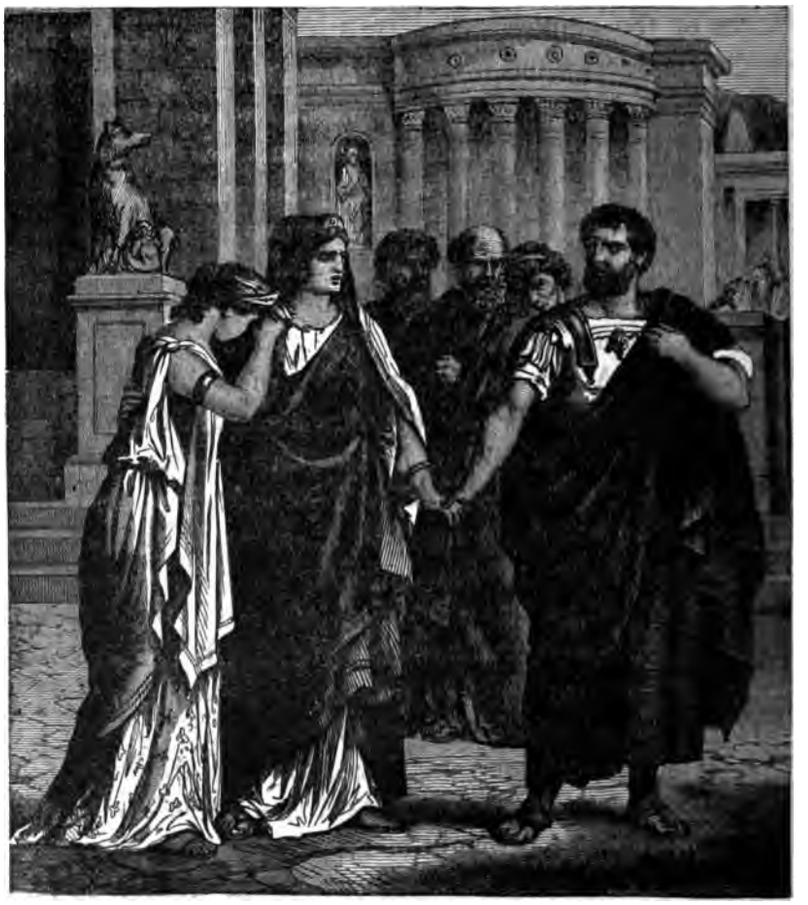
armies; but, in almost all cases, she prepared the way to success by stirring up strife among the allied tribes of people, with whom she was at war. This, we will see, was her course against the powerful Gauls and Teutons in the times of the empire. Such was her policy at this time with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Roman consul, Flaminius, entered Greece with an army and proclaimed Grecian independence to all the tribes that would join his cause. The battle of Cynocephalae ended the war, and at the same time the Macedonian empire.[1] Each Grecian state was made separate and independent, except in the case of leagues among themselves, such as those of Achaia, Aetolia, or Bœotia.

When Antiochus received Hannibal at his Syrian court, Rome regarded the act as a challenge for war, and was not long in accepting it. Antiochus was really the aggressor. He formed an alliance with Grecian Aetolians, and even entered Greece with an army. The Roman army finally entered Thessaly, defeated the Syrians at Thermopylae, and drove them out of Greece. The Roman fleet defeated the Syrians near Cyprus, landed in Asia, and compelled Antiochus to withdraw from that part of Asia Minor north of the Taurus and confine himself to the district south of that range.[2] Again[3] the Macedonians, under Philip's successor, Perseus, became rebellious. The battle of Pydna was fought in 168 B.C., and, as usual, the Romans were successful. Macedonia was broken up into four states. The leagues of Greece, except Achaia, were dissolved and many of the separate states again declared independent.

There had always been a party at Rome that considered their own state unsafe as long as Carthage flourished.

[1] 197 B. C. [2] 190 B. C. [3] 171 B. C.

The head of this party was Cato, the Censor. It is said, that he closed every speech to the Senate, or people of Rome with these words, "Carthage must be destroyd."[1]



Return of Regulus.[2]

[1] "Delenda est Carthago.

[2] During this war occurred the memorable incident of Regulus and his return to Carthage. Captured by the Carthagenians he was paroled and sent to Rome on condition that he return to Carthage if Rome refused to make a certain treaty Regulus refused to enter Rome, strongly advised the Romans not to make the treaty, and then bidding farewell to his family he returned to Carthage to die.

esolved therefore upon the ruin of Carthage, a Roman rmy finally appeared before her walls and demanded the estruction of the city as the only condition of peace. Vith almost superhuman energy, born of despair, the in- abitants withstood the siege for four years.[1] Finally Carthage surrendered, was utterly destroyed, and the terri- ory made into a province. Another quarrel with Mace- lonia followed. Corinth was plundered and destroyed.[2] The former became a province at once, and the latter finally assumed a similar relation toward Rome. A Ro- man army was employed in Spain from 149 to 133 B. C., when two provinces were added to Roman possessions. Pergamus about this time[3] came under Roman power by will of their late ruler, Attalus III.

We have now reached a time in the history of the Roman Commonwealth when her internal troubles had as- umed frightful proportions.[4] The Plebeian population of Rome was no longer Latin. It was a mixture of all free people whom the fortunes of war had driven to that city. The public land of Rome or Italy was in the possession f the Patricians, who worked their large estates with lave labor. The great mass of people, the Plebeians, were andless, and there was little chance of their finding em- loyment except as soldiers. This subject class had to be ed; and it, in time, came to be an instrument of every mbitious demagogue, by which he could raise himself into ower.[5] The one who could best feed them was their hero or the time being. At times, there arose champions of he Plebeians who deserve great praise for their attempts

[1] 149-146 B. C. [2] 146 B. C.

[3] 133 B. C [4] Vol. II. p. 201 *et seq.*

[5] We have referred to the workings of the same state of affairs in Greece, resulting in the formation of Tyrannies.

to better the condition of these people by legislation. Such were, no doubt, the Gracchi.[1] But every such noble minded legislator came to an untimely death through the enmity of the Patricians.

The war with Jugurtha, who had usurped the Numidian throne,[2] both proves the corruption of the leading Romans of the time and brings into public notice the two party leaders, Marius and Sulla. For nine years, Jugurtha succeeded in saving his throne by bribing Roman consuls and senators. The inevitable end, absorption by Rome, came at last. Heretofore the Romans, when fighting the ruder people on their northern and western borders, had met only Gauls and Iberians. About this time, they were first called upon to defend themselves from invading tribes of Teutons, whom they found by no means as easily conquered as the former two peoples. In 113 B. C., bands of Cimbri and Teutones (Germans) crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. Contrary to law, Marius was appointed and re-appointed several times to the consulship. He was the ablest commander in Rome, but it took him twelve long years to conquer these Teutonic tribes even on his own Italian soil.

Even before this time, it was no uncommon occurrence for a conspicuous party leader at Rome to meet his death by assassination. In 91 B. C., M. Livius Drusus proposed a "set of measures which had for their object the reconcilement, at Rome, of the Senatorian with the Equestrian orders."[3] Drusus was murdered, which so enraged the popular party, who regarded him as their champion, that the tribes of Central and Southern Italy took up arms, deter-

1 Tiberius in 133 B. C.; Caius in 121 B. C.
2 Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 423.
3 118-106 B. C.

to form an independent state. As a source of pro- against desertion by the northern tribes, Rome con- ull citizenship upon all Italians who had not taken the war or would at once return to their allegiance. way, Rome retained her supremacy. The Patri- ere compelled, from time to time, to make just su i. ions. This policy was, in Imperial times, extended



Varro Exhorting Teutobocchus to War against the Romans.

he provinces, though in a modified from. The in- i chieftains and the promising young men were l as candidates for Roman citizenship, and were sted with that title and its privileges. They came rd it as a mark of honor, as well as a safeguard punishment from local governments.[1] So great a was made, that "the grandsons of the Gauls, who d Julius Caesar in Alesia, commanded legions,

[1] St. Paul's answer to the provincial magistrate, Acts, xxi. 37-39.

ovinces, and were admitted into the Senate of
ıe time of the Antonines.[1]
s had secretly favored the popular party, while
emained a firm and powerful support to the city.
s time,[2] Mithridates, ruler in Pontus, was defying
rms by carrying war into Asia Minor, even mas-
thousands of Italians and Romans. Sulla was
e command of the resulting war against the Pontic
n. Marius, at once championed the popular cause
ıe. In this way, he caused the Comitia Tributa[3] to
Sulla and give the command to himself. Then for
st time, we see what a dangerous power the command
ose fearless Roman legions gave an ambitious leader.
a appealed to the legions that had followed him in
y a battle. They agreed to support him, so he led
m at once against the capital. Marius, not being pre-
red for such a step, found the mob at his command an
ly constituted force, with which to oppose the trained
egions. He was at last forced into exile, and many of hi
supporters, being proscribed, were put to death.

Sulla now led his army into the East, and began w
against Mithridates. He succeeded, during the next fe
years,[1] in compelling that prince to accept his terms of pe
In the mean time, the Marian party had gained the as
dency at Rome, and had invited Marius back to the
but he died in 86 B. C. Sulla's friends had been prosc
and thousands of them murdered. Sulla, after s
affairs at the East, again turned his forces toward
Carbo and young Marius were then the legally
consuls. Sulla, however, was sure of the cooper
the Patricians. When he reached Italy, he was

1 Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 42.
2 88 B. C.
3 See This Series, Vol. II. p. 203.

an legions. For the first time legion was opposed to
i. At last, Sulla put down all opposition. His first
was to proscribe and murder thousands of people, both
ome and elsewhere, for no other crime than that they
avored the popular party.[1] He made himself Dicta-
nd, as such, suceeded in re-establishing the Senate and



In the Arena.

atrician order in power and glory. In 79 B. C., he
ted his office and died in the following year. From
me forward, the political history of Rome is little

is hard even for the most careless to realize the small value placed
man life in those times. Three thousand friends of the popular
t Rome and twelve thousand at Praeneste were butchered in
ed at the nod of Sulla, or his tools. See Rawlinson's "Manual,"

nore than a history of individuals, who, in various
arose to power.

The wealthy or ambitious leaders prepared fo
amusement of the idle mob inhuman, revolting, and b
spectacles, known as gladiatorial contests. It is
curdling, even at the present day, to read the accoun
these scenes. The youth and strength of conquered pe
were brought to Italian cities and skillfully trained in
to make the fight more exciting. The contestants m
the arena to fight for their lives, using all the skill
training could give them. Sometimes man was
against man, and sometimes against the fiercest of
beasts. Nor would the flowing life-blood and the m
groans of a single score of dying men quench their
for human blood; the great Caesar himself, when a
gained popular favor by glutting the eyes of Rome
the blood of thousands of gladiators, fighting in a
arena.[2] Not the mob alone were pleased to witness
games, but consuls, senators, knights, the youth ar
aged, fair maidens and worthy dames—all seemed to
such a scene as did the immortal Cicero, who said,
was the greatest pleasure in life to see a brave ene
off to torture and death.[1] Even the eloquent pen
tus could not wholly escape contamination from th
of the times, for we find him writing in regard
prisoners, that more than sixty thousand fell, not b
arms, but "grander far for our delighted eyes."[3]

All have heard of the gladiator, Spartacus, w
a body of five thousand gladiators escaped fro
placed himself at their head. This band was soor

1 After Trajan's triumph over the Dacians [A. D. 106.
more than 10000 exhibited." Smith: "Dictionary of Greek
Antiquities." 2 Elton: "Origins of English Hi
3 Germania Chapter xxxiii.

ves and malcontents enough to swell its ranks to one ndred thousand men. For two years, they ravaged the lds and cities of Italy, before they were finally conquered a Roman army.

After the death of Sulla, a number of prominent men ne to the front in Roman affairs. Amongst these, we



Death of Spartacus.

ıst mention Cn. Pompeius, or Pompey. He belonged a new family, but had gained the friendship of Sulla. nother was Crassus, a shrewd but indolent man, who ntained his power by his great wealth.

Greatest among the rising men, was Caius Julius Cae- We need only mention, in passing, Cato the younger l the great orator and statesman, Cicero. It is not strange

that we should detect a rivalry for supremacy among these influential men. Our interest chiefly centers on Caesar. He passed from one office to another; finally, assuming the government of Spain, he there began to organize that army that was destined to make Rome an Empire. The Senate had become fearful of Pompey's power. He had been made consul, had driven the pirates from the Mediterranean, and was solidifying Roman power in Asia.



Conquest of Gaul.

He returned to Rome to be slighted by the Senate, for they did not even ratify his acts in Asia, nor pay his troops. Thus offended, he was ready, when Caesar proposed it, to unite with Crassus and form a secret league, known as the First Triumvirate. Caesar was made Consul,[1] and popular measures were adopted; Pompey's soldiers were provided for; Cato was given an unimportant foreign office;

[1] 59 B. C.



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ile Cicero, the patriot and orator, was banished. The iumvirate then ruled at Rome. At the close of Cae-r's consulate, he obtained the government of the two auls and of Illyricum for a term of five years. Then ere begun the wars against the Gauls and Germans, which nded to Romanize a great part of Western Europe.

Now Caesar was at liberty to plan for the future. le began at once to raise, equip, and discipline an army at would support him in his ambitious designs. Nor id he fail in the essential point of endearing himself to e soldiers that he led in battle. They were not only ady to obey his commands, but willing to live or die with im. He was not in a hurry, however, feeling that the me for action had not yet come. In 55 B. C., he was re-ap-ointed to the government of the Gauls for another period f five years. Crassus was slain in an expedition against he Parthians.[1] Pompey began to fear the power of Caesar, nd induced the Senate to demand,[2] that Caesar should lisband his army before coming to Rome to stand for the onsulship. Had Caesar complied, he would have aban-loned the only means by which he could hold his power, nd, perhaps, he would have forfeited his life. He saw hat the time had come when he was to abandon all hope f future power, or else strike boldly for the only position f honor left for him. So at the head of his devoted legions, esar made the historical "crossing of the Rubicon,"[3] and arched against Rome.

Now Pompey realized the advantage that his opponent d. He, therefore, determined to fall back upon the st, where he had gained so many victories in the past. ere he would raise an army with which he might hope ope with the mighty Caesar. By this step, Caesar was

[1] 53. B. C. [2] 50. B. C. [3] 49. B. C.

enabled to enter Rome with little or no opposition. S
tioned at the seat of government, Caesar was master
all Italy. He did not, however, wait for Pompey to br
his army into Italy, neither did he allow time for his e
mies to unite their forces. Caesar's army was first s
cessful in Spain, next on the battle-field of Pharsalia, th
the Pompeians were defeated in Africa, and finally crush



Caesar Crossing the Rubicon.

in Spain. Pompey was, at last, murdered in Egypt.[1]

In the meantime, the legislation of Caesar was
best possible for Rome. He was made perpetual Dicta
and assumed the reins of government. The Senate
enlarged to the number of nine hundred, the new m

[1] 49-45.

rs being chosen from provincials, as well as from the l class of Roman citizens. The population of a number Gallic communities was raised to the rank of citizens. he arts and sciences were encouraged. Such cities as arthage and Corinth were rebuilt; wise laws, arranging atisfactorily and equitably the matters between debtors nd creditors, were enacted. Those who held large es- ates were required to employ free labor. The laws were odified; the Empire surveyed; and the calendar reformed. hus did Caesar find time for the administration of the ivil government while he was, at the same time, busy ith his wars.

But the ambition of Caesar led him to extremes. The ople of Rome were jealous of their rights. They would dure all manner of oppression so long as the govern- ent was in name a Republic, and they had the officers at they were accustomed to. But, when the friends of esar hailed him as king, when the crown was offered him by his tool, Mark Antony, the Roman people began murmur. A conspiracy was formed, and Caesar was urdered on the Ides of March[1] 44 B. C. Chief among ese conspirators were his own friends, Brutus and Cas- ius. In his will, he left the sum of ten dollars to every itizen, and his magnificent garden across the Tiber was hrown open as a public park. When Mark Antony mad his known to the people; when they heard his eloquent ords of praise, and saw the dead Caesar lying before em; when Antony held up the torn and bloody toga, hich Caesar had thrown over his face to meet his death, eir rage knew no bounds. They seized torches from e funeral pyre of their dead hero; and, applying flames

[1] 15th day.

to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, burned them to the



Tomb of Cæsar.

ground. The two arch-murderers fled for their lives.

Antony, the sole surviving consul, now thought that

to supreme power was clear, especially as the new Dollabella, was his tool. But the young Octavius l upon the scene. He was a great nephew of Cae- had been named in his will as his heir and son tion. Though absent from Rome when Caesar dered, he hastened to the Capital. Then, by his



Suicide of Brutus.

to the populace, by paying Caesar's legacy to the by politic action toward his enemies, he soon be looked upon as the real successor to Caesar. gain entered earnestly into public life, and his "Philippics" against Antony were as effective as former times, against the great conspirator, Cat-

line. Octavius collected an army, which he paid out of his own income, and pitched his camp near Rome. Antony retired to Cis-Alpine Gaul, and began an attack upon the governor of that province. The consuls, Hirtius and Pausa, were sent against him, while Octavius accompanied them as prætor. The consuls were slain though the army was victorious. In this way, Octavius became sole commander of a victorious army. He was made consul. In 43 B. C., there was formed the second Triumvirate—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, a commander of horse when Antony and Cæsar were consuls. The last named received Spain for his province; Antony, the two Gauls; and Octavius, Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa.[1]

The combined forces of the three, however, were at once needed to engage the army that the assassins of Cæsar had collected in Thrace. The battle of Philippi decided the fate of the Republic. The Triumvirs were successful. Brutus and Cassius were forced to fall upon their swords and thus end their lives. Then Antony was given the government of the East; Octavius, that of Italy and Spain; Lepidus, Africa. Then began the fatal friendship of Antony and Cleopatra. While Octavius grew in power and extended the territory of Rome, Antony was spending his time in voluptous living at the Egyptian court. Lepidus and all other competitors in the West were put down. At last, in 31 B. C., an open breach occurred between Octavius and Antony. The battle of Actium, and later the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, left Octavius the sole ruler of Rome. He did not, however,

1 As one of the terms of agreement between these three men, a few thousand men were proscribed, and Cicero's name headed the list. He was murdered in a short time and his head and hands were nailed up in the Forum, where he had so often defended the rights of the Commonwealth against such conspirators as Catiline and Antony. *Vide* Steele: "Brief History of Rome," p. 204.

to assume the title of king, but contented him-
h such titles as were familiar and not offensive to
ple. In every case, he secured his appointment in
al legal manner, though, no doubt, the Senate and
saw that it was useless to oppose him. He was
t different times during the first twenty years,



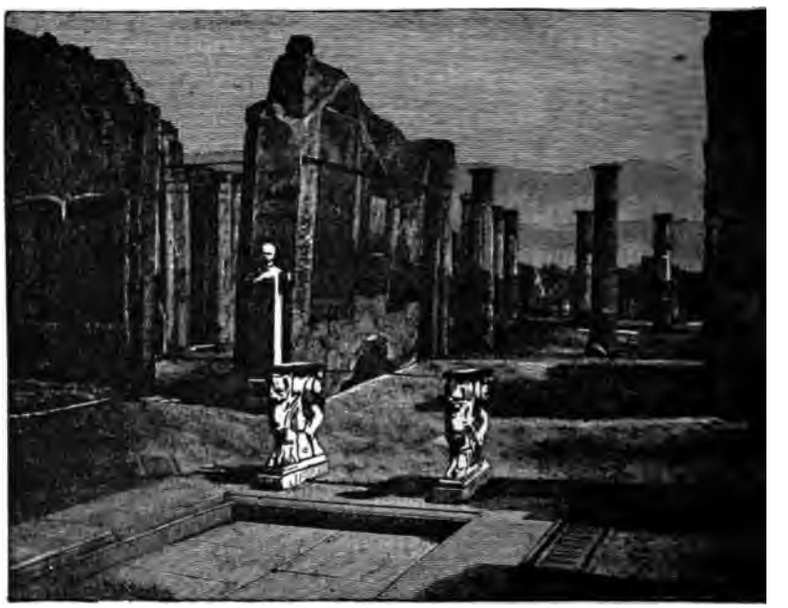
Court of Augustus.

der-in-chief of the army, leader of the Senate, per-
ribune, perpetual consul, perpetual censor, pontifex
s, and was given the title of Augustus.[1]

me now enters upon her Augustinian age. The Re-

[1] For Authorities on this period of Roman history, see Rawlinson: "Ancient History," p. 377-455; Steele: "Brief History of Rome," p. 34-65; Mommsen: "History of Rome," Vol II.; Caesar's "Commentaries," and "Gallic War."

public was never re-established. The reign of Augustus lasted until 15 A. D. It was a mild and popular reign The rights of all people were regarded. Though the Empire maintained its authority and extended its borders, there was almost universal peace. This season of peace and prosperity, in the case of Rome as in that of other nations, was the season of her greatest growth. It was



Street in Pompeii.

during the reign of Augustus and in the Roman province of Judea, that Jesus Christ was born. One important step taken by the emperor was the establishment of an imperial guard which was known as the Prætorian guard It consisted of ten legions.[1] Three legions were stationed in the city and seven in the various provinces. It was during his reign, that the Germans, under Arminius, by the complete annihilation of Varus and his three legions

[1] 10,000 men.

rever freed themselves from fear of Roman conquest.[1] Virgil, Livy, Horace, and Ovid were the bright lights of literature during this age.

Upon the death of Augustus, a line of ten Caesars[2] occupied in succession the throne of the Roman Empire. With Nero, however, the Julian family became extinct.[3] The empire soon became the stake for which all ambitious men might play. When Nero's slave pierced the emperor's heart and deprived Rome of a ruler, there appeared no less than six pretenders to the throne, each backed by the authority of a number of legions of soldiers. The history of the next few months is but a tale of the succession and deaths of three emperors. Finally, Vespasian, commander in Judea, was elevated to the throne by his legions. It was during the reign of Vespasian, that the great eruption of Vesuvius occurred, which buried the extensive cities, Pompeii and Herculaneum.[4] The reign of Vespasian was distinguished for its strength and vigor. The authority of the empire was maintained throughout all her vast territory; education and literature were encouraged; and general prosperity was enjoyed.

Upon the death of Domitian,[5] succession by appointment was instituted, and there followed a line of emperors whose reigns were, on the whole, creditable, not only to the wearers of the purple, but to the Roman people as well. Says Gibbon,[6] "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.

[1] A. D. 9. [2] Many of them Caesars by adoption. [3] 68 A. D.
[4] A. D. 79. [5] A. D. 96.
[6] "Decline and Fall," Vol. I. p. 95.

The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom." This was from A. D. 96 to 180. It has been called the "Golden Age" of Rome. Among the five emperors who reigned during this period, Trajan was the most energetic in extending Roman territory. He "was a great builder. Rome grew larger and more beautiful under his hand; and throughout the provinces, innumerable bridges, aqueducts, and temples long served as monuments of the splendor and vigor of his reign." Hadrian followed in his footsteps, continually traveling over the empire and superintending the construction of roads, walls, and buildings.[1] Antonius and Marcus Aurelius, or the "two Antonines," reigned in harmony until the former died, when Aurelius reigned alone. Both seemed to rule with the sole object of making their subjects happy.

Almost every land could now count many Roman citizens among its native inhabitants. It was the policy of the government to gain the lasting loyalty of the rising and influential young men in all her provinces by conferring the honor of citizenship upon them. So that there was a chance for every young provincial chieftain to rise to the loftiest degree of power. Many aspired to the throne, and some reached this pinnacle of their ambitious dreams. The strength of the legions was no longer composed of the old Italian stock of soldiers, but the youth of the provinces were the flower of the army. This army knew its strength. It no longer respected the dignity and authority of the Senate. Anyone who would furnish them with the greatest allowance of money was deemed worthy of the purple. So we find the army in 193 A. D. selling the throne to the highest bidder. From that time, the fate

[1] "Landmarks of History," p 26

e empire was written. There was a steady downward
se. Occasionally the army would clothe with the toga
ower a spirit stronger than their own united, or rather



Trajan's Arch.

ded strength. Such an one was Severus (Septimus)
ximin,[1] who, from a Thracian peasant, rose to be em-
or of the world. Then there came a time when a large

[1] 235-238 A. D.

number of independent kingdoms were organized throughout the empire. This was in the time of the "thirty tyrants." At last,[1] there arose a succession of emperors who were able to control the army and restore the empire to its former size and a shadow of its former glory. These were Aurelian,[2] Probus,[3] Diocletian,[4] and Constantine.[5]

Diocletian established a new order of things. He appointed Maximian as his full colleague in office, with equal power and also with the title of Augustus. Then each chose, as son and successor, a young officer, each of whom received the title of Caesar. These were Galerius and Constantius. Diocletian retained for himself the government of Thrace, Macedon, Egypt, and the East. Maximian was given Italy and Africa. Constantius received Gaul, Spain and Britain. Galerius ruled the Danubian provinces. Thus was the authority of the empire enforced throughout the extent of her territory. In 305, both "Augusti" abdicated, and Galerius took upon himself the right to choose two new Caesars. Constantius died the following year, and his legions immediately appointed his son Constantine to succeed him. In 312, Constantine became engaged in war with his associates in the imperial office. In 324, the last one was defeated and put to death. Constantine was sole emperor of the Roman world.

As sole emperor, Constantine ruled with strength and wisdom. He has made his name immortal in two ways. First, though perhaps in a less degree, he is known in history as the founder and builder of Constantinople, which he made the capital of his empire. The walls of magnificent buildings arose on the "Golden Horn" of the

1 268-283 A. D. 2 270-275 A. D.
3 276-282 A. D. 4 284-308 A. D. 5 306-337 A. D.

rus, as the imperial city "appeared resplendent in marble." It remained the capital city of the Eastern re until long after the Saracens made their appear-



Mausoleum of Hadrian.

n Europe. But the one act in his life that has given antine more than ordinary historical prominence he course that he took in religious matters. He e first emperor that adopted and championed the

Christian religion. He early became converted to that faith, and made it the state religion.

It had always been the policy of Rome to leave the inhabitants of her provinces free to retain their native religions.[1] They could worship their gods unmolested. We recall how, in the case of the Jews at the trial of Christ, the Roman governor declined to give judgment because it was a religious trial. Christ had not offended against the Roman law.[2] It is true, that many of the emperors were jealous of any man, or company of men, who appeared to be rising into power. So it is not strange that their imagination, poisoned by fear of assassination, saw political enemies in the leaders and secret assemblies of this newly established church. To suspect a man or a company of men of a desire for power, was a sure death warrant in those days. Neither rank nor sex was any protection. Political enemies were put to death in all manner of cruel ways. Some of the so-called religious persecutions may have been instigated through fear of political uprisings on the part of the Christians.[3]

When the emperor adopted the Christian religion, the opportunity was offered for religious fanatics to try to suppress other religions. Constantine was their tool. Though a good emperor, and, no doubt, an earnest man, "he was strangely superstitious, and his religion, so far as it can be gathered from his public acts, his coins, his medals, and his recorded speeches, was a curious medley of Christianity and Paganism."[4] Constantine also established throughout the empire a system of "graduated nobility, the archetype of the modern system."[5]

[1] Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 33-37. [2] John xviii. 28-31.

[3] When we come to treat of the history of Christianity, we will review this period once more.

[4] Rawlinson: "Manual," p. 529. [5] Ibid. 527.

We must recall also[1] the almost continual war of the Roman Empire with Oriental Empires over the eastern boundary of the one, and the western boundary of the other. Upon the ruins of the Empire of Alexander the Great, had arisen first the Parthian empire, which occupied nearly all of Central Asia. The Euphrates river was, as a general thing, the acknowledged western boundary of that empire. When the Neo-Persian empire succeeded the



Imperial Rome.

Parthian, it inherited also this perpetual warfare with Rome. Successes were about equal on both sides. While, however, neither Parthian nor Persian emperors ever adorned the triumph of a Roman consul, Cassius fell in battle against the Parthians, and the emperor Valerian eked out a disgraceful life as royal prisoner to emperor Sapor. While Trajan, during his reign,[2] seized some territory east of the Tigris and Euphrates, his successor, Hadrian, aban-

[1] Above p. 136. [2] 98-117, A. D.

doned it to the Parthians. Generally speaking, in the time of its greatest extent, the eastern boundary of the Roman empire was the Euphrates river.[1]

In following the political history of Rome through the first three hundred and seventy years[2] of the empire, we have omitted to follow carefully its growth in extent of territory. Let us take a hurried glance over this same period, noting the principal accessions that the empire received from the ruder tribes of the West, as well as from the civilized people of the East. Sicily was the first province to be added to the possessions of Rome. Previous to this time,[3] the territory of Rome was confined to Central and Southern Italy. Though early acquired, Corsica and Sardinia never amounted to much, owing, probably, to a lack of Aryan settlers. The boundary of Italy was extended to the Alps by the conquest of Cis-Alpine Gaul,[4] Liguria, and Venetia.[5] The first of the three was not incorporated with Italy until 43 B. C. "We thus see that not only Venice, but Milan, Pavia, Verona, Ravenna, and Genoa—cities which played so great a part in the after history of Italy —arose in lands which were not Italian."[6]

Hannibal began his war against Rome by the capture of Saguntum, a Spanish ally of that city. So when the second Punic war closed, Spain became a province of Rome, though it was not completely subdued until 19 B. C. The southeastern part of Trans-Alpine Gaul was united to Rome under the name of Provence about 105 B. C. The Cimbri and the Teutons, for half a century, held the Roman army in check in that direction. Finally, Cæsar appeared

[1] Among the authorities on Imperial Rome, consult Gibbon: "Decline and Fall." Rawlinson: "Manual;" Dawes: "Land Marks of History;" Tacitus: "Annals;" Clintons: "Chronology of Rome."

[2] 31 B. C., A. D. 339. [3] 212 B. C. [4] 191 B. C. [5] 183 B. C.

[6] Freeman: "Historical Geography," Vol. I. p. 55.

Gaul with his well trained legions. "Before Caesar's allic war, the rule of the Romans extended approximately far as Toulouse, Vienne and Geneva; after it, as far as



Romans Warring with the Germans.

Rhine throughout its course, and the coasts of the Atntic on the north, as on the west."[1]

[1] Vide Mommsen: "Provinces of the Roman Empire," Vol. I. p. 86, ew York, 1887.

Grecian and Roman influence early began to spread among the Gauls — the one from the Grecian colony of Masilla, and the other from Italy and Spain. The Provence already referred to was said to have furnished many Roman merchants, farmers and grazers for Gaul.[1] They were the business men of the land. While the Gauls practiced agriculture, they paid more attention to grazing.[2] To their own native productions, they added others that were brought to them by their fleets, that were constantly navigating the streams and plying between Britain and their own land. Thus were procured wool for their manufactures, cattle for their herds. Copper, silver, and gold were obtained from some convenient source, and tin from Cornwall. The Italian merchant found a ready sale for his wine and horses in Gaul. It is said, that a single cask of wine might, in those days, be exchanged for a Gallic slave. The Latin language was not unknown there even before Caesar's time. It had spread through commercial intercourse through Roman merchants. Similarly Greek culture had spread northward from Messalia, which furnished Gaul with physicians and philosophers.[3] "Thus trade and commerce paved the way to conquest."[4]

The great stream of Teutonic migration, that was at this time setting toward the west, was not checked by the Rhine or the fear of Roman arms. As they began to encroach more and more upon Gallic territory, rumors of their movements reached the Roman capital. Caesar came with his legions to force the Germans back across the Rhine, and compel them to remain there. It was

[1] Mommsen: "Rome," Vol. IV. p. 261. [2] Ibid. 264.

[3] Ibid. 261.

[4] In some places [as at Vaison] inscriptions have been found in the Celtic language, using however ordinary Greek letters.

ly a temporary check, however, for the pent up forces, after times, burst through the barriers in all directions; ptising the Western Empire with Teutonic blood, event- lly snatching it from the Romans. It took Caesar seven ars to subdue Gaul and make of it a Roman province. he Celtic population was conquered, but the Turanian berians, disdaining submission, sought refuge in the rocky orges of the Pyrenees. There they have since lived, nd their language has been preserved to tell us of an therwise lost people.[1] Though Caesar crossed into Brit- in, he made no conquest of that island. The result of is campaigns was the formation of the province of Trans- lpine Gaul.[2]

Upon the conquest of Carthage, Africa became a ovince; but Carthage was not rebuilt until 49 B. C., d, after that, became, next to Rome, the "chief of the tin-speaking cities of the empire." As Roman territory as extended toward the East, Roman influence found mething stronger to contend with than Celtic influence Western Europe, and Semitic influence of Northern frica. The Celts were so nearly allied to the Romans hat they accepted without dissent, not only Roman cus- oms but also the Roman language. This was not the ase with the Germans along the Rhine, nor of Caesar's Belgic Gauls, who were more Teuton than Celt. From he eastern shore of the Adriatic to the Halys river in sia Minor, the Grecian language was the literary tongue well as the most cultivated form of speech. Alexan- ia in Africa and Antioch in Asia were seats of Grecian ltur-. Now the Greeks were much more Teutonic in

[1] Ethnologically they are said to differ but little from the Celtibe- ns of Spain, and the Ibero-Celts of France. *Vide* Keane in Ramsay's urope," p. 579. [2] "Historical Geography," p. 58.

ethnology than the Celts; and, besides, we have seen h from the earliest times, they were strengthened by a c tinual renewal of Teutonic blood from the north. Altho Constantinople was in the center of this Hellenized distr and Latin was the court language of the empire, neit Roman language nor culture had a lasting influence the habits of this portion of the empire. In later ti the Eastern Empire became in reality a Greek state.[1]

The complicated state of Grecian affairs early led Roman interference. As early as 188 B. C., Rome h according to her usual line of policy, placed the whol Asia Minor under the rule of those friendly to her government. This was sufficient until the time for quest came. There was a strip of territory bordering eastern coast of the Adriatic, north of Macedonia, th 34 B. C., became the province of Dalmatia. There larger district surrounding Dalmatia, however, that b a Roman possession in 168 B. C. and was subseq known as the province of Illyricum. In 129 B. C., province of Asia was formed out of her allies acro Aegaean. Bithynia was annexed in 74, Crete in 67, in 64, Cyprus in 58, Egypt in 31 before the beginni the Christian Era. The lands between the Alps and Danube were added during the reign of Augustus.[2] Ma donia became a province in 149 B. C. Greece proper a long time held the anomalous position of an independe dependency of Rome. It finally became the province Achaia.

The Roman consuls, Caesar, Claudius, and Agric were met by a Celtic population when they landed

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 162.

[2] These were the provinces of Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, nonia, and Moesia. They were known as the Danubian provinces.

[1] The Teutonic wave of migration that brought
refathers to the shores of the ocean had not yet
l the land of the Britons. Although Cæesar in-
the island in 55 B. C., Agricola[2] succeeded in carry-
e conquest only to the wall of Hadrian. So far
nly, did the province of Britain extend. It was



Landing of Cæsar in Britain.

the first provinces to be thrown off by the empire,
remains only record the presence of the Romans in
ow Teutonic Island. Turning again to the East,
d that the northern part of Arabia became a prov-
A. D. 106, as did Dacia, the only territory north of

Historical Geography," p. 60; also Rhys' "Celtic Britain," p. 224
D. 84.

the Danube that ever fell under Roman sway. Thi
last of the provinces to be annexed, was the first
given up. Aurelian withdrew from it in 270 and t
ferred its name to Moesia.[1]

When the Roman empire had at last reache
growth, we can give as its northern and eastern bo
ries three great rivers, the Rhine, the Danube, an
Euphrates. In Africa, it included the strip of f
country north of the Great Desert and Egypt as far
as the Tropic of Cancer. The only provinces lying b
these boundaries were Britain and Dacia, the last
added and the first to fall away from the Roman p
sions. "In every part of that dominion, the proc
conquest was gradual. The lands which became R
provinces passed through various stages of alliance an
pendency before they were fully incorporated. But, i
end, all the civilized world of those times became Rom
We must now remember that Rome carried her own
guage with her into all countries. The Latin lang
however, had no lasting effect upon the Greeks of e
Europe or Asia. In some places, it has been since s
away by Teutonic, Slavic, or Turkish conquests, so th
may be said that the Romance world of to-day is
upon a Celtic or Turanian foundation. The occas
attempts to conquer Germany were failures.

Constantine divided the empire into four "Praet
Prefectures—the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul.[2] T
were divided into first Dioceses, and these sub-divided
Provinces. The last emperor of the house of Consta
was Julian, the apostate. He is chiefly known fo
attempts to root out Christianity and re-establish Pa

[1] *Vide* "Historical Geography," p. 70.
[2] "Historical Geography," p. 71-2. [3] Ibid. 75.

After his death,[1] Jovian ruled about eight months. was succeeded by Valentinian who shared the empire his brother, Valens. The empire was re-united by odosius; but the sons of Theodosius[2] divided it into empires, Arcadius taking nearly the same territory was included in the first two prefectures of Constan- while Honorius took the western two. Thus were ied two lines of emperors who ruled during the ter part of the fifth century—the one having its cap- at Constantinople, the other usually at Ravenna or in.

We have now traced the history of the Romans from first arrival of Aryans in the Italian peninsula until great empire was finally divided into two nearly equal s. We have seen how the Turanians first gave way re the pressure of the Celts from the north. The lat- were met by the Helleno-Teutonic colonists crowding r way toward the north. The resulting Italians were ardy race (if we may be permitted to use that word) Celto-Teutonic Aryans. For a long time the Roman ple retained their strong and hardy character, capable uling the three continents known to the Medieval rld. But in the times of the empire, the effeminate ental became a Roman citizen. The riches of the East d the Triumvir Crassus to his death. The great Cae- could not wholly resist the dazzling beauty and the xicating charms of Egypt's fair queen, Cleopatra, in delirium of which the weaker Antony revelled himself eath. The emperor Elagabulus himself was a priest he Syrian sun-god, and brought his ideas of Oriental t life to Rome.[3] Luxurious baths followed the Roman

[1] A. D. [2] A. D. 395. [3] See Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 167-8.

legions to their winter quarters, when formerly the soldiers were hardened by severe and vigorous discipline. The court, which once gloried in the death of the chaste Lucretia, now applauded the shameful lives of the licentious Julia and the voluptuous Faustina.[1] The streams of crimson blood that flowed from the veins of the dying gladiators poisoned the sympathetic hearts of even the gentler sex, and more than one empress prepared the poisoned food for her fated lord. The army had come to know its power, and usually decided the title of the one who aspired to the throne. "Of the sixty-two emperors from Caesar to Constantine, forty-two were murdered, three committed suicide, two abdicated or were forced to abdicate, one was killed in a rebellion, one was drowned, one died in war, one died it is not known how, and no more than eleven died in the way of nature."[2] The imperial life averaged only five years. When we reflect upon this condition of affairs, we see the doom of the Roman empire written so plainly that "he who runs may read."

Still the empire did not fall with its division into two parts. The Eastern Empire continued to exist and exert a great influence until the fanatic tribes of Islam appeared before the gates of Constantinople. The breaking up of the Western Empire is so intimately connected with the "Rise of Modern Nations" that we will consider it in that chapter. We have seen how the Roman legions fixed the boundaries of the powerful German tribes and so limited the primitive Aryan domain. But the destiny of races can not be directed by mortal man. The pent up Aryan forces must come forth. Long since we have seen these same Teutonic tribes climbing the Alps, and fording

[1] See Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 151.

[2] Steele: "History of Rome," p. 68.

legions to their winter quarters, when formerly
diers were hardened by severe and vigorous
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1 See Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 151.
2 Steele: "History of Rome," p. 68.

the Danube and th
tread of the adv
sulting baptism of
the modern world.



CHAPTER V.

THE RISE OF MODERN NATIONS.

INTRODUCTION—The First Appearance of the Huns—The Migrat
the Goths—Invasion of the Western Empire by the Teutons
of Gaul—Atilla—Gothic Conquest of the Western Empire—R
the Franks — The Saracens — Charles Martel—Charlemagne
Final Separation of the Two Empires—The Basilian Dynasty
East—Fall of the Eastern Empire—The Triple Division of C
magne's Empire—Italy under the Karlings—Change of the W
Empire to the German Empire—Rise of the Italian Cities—O
Sketch of Germany—The Hohenstaufen Dynasty—Frederic I
rossa—Rise of Austria—Outline Sketch of France—The Norse
Rise of Normandy—The Capets—Appearance of Modern Fr
Sketch of Spanish History—Castile and Aragon—Charles V.
Small States of Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland Expla
Sketch of Russian History — The Muscovites—Peter the G
Hungary, Lithuania, and Poland—Sweden and Norway—Denn
Outline of English History—Aelfred—The Norman Conquest
Plantagenets—The Magna Charta—Henry VIII.—General
clusions



AN ERA of time recedes i
gloom of antiquity, its history s
to cluster around certain master
its, who, for the time being, virt
swayed the world. During the
ter portion of the time, when the boundaries of the
man Empire circumscribed the historical world, the
ing figure of each generation was the Emperor. W
the right of succession to the imperial throne came to
upon the will and power of the strongest organized a
and when the choice of such an authority fell to the

who could shower the richest gifts upon them, there arose many an emperor whose whole career may be written: "He was emperor of Rome."

An empire that a Caesar could organize and rule was too vast for the playhouse of a childish Commodus. The territory which Trajan added to the empire was lost by his successor, Hadrian. Diocletian (286 A. D.) recognized the fact that the empire was too extensive to be ruled by one man of ordinary ability, so we find him appointing a colleague. Constantine the Great found it to be an advantage to have the empire divided into four prefectures. Later, Valentinian shared the empire with his brother, Valens. And, as previously shown, upon the death of Theodosius (A. D. 395), the empire was divided into two nearly equal parts—one to each of his sons—ruling with nearly equal independent powers. Honorius received the western half and Arcadius the eastern. The empire was re-united again, for a moment only, in the time of Zeno, (474-491) and of Justinian (527-565), though many of the more remote western provinces were never again brought under the rule of one emperor.[1]

This partition of the Roman Empire marks a period when a new element appears in the history of Europe. The history of the continent no longer centers around the emperors of Rome. In fact, individuals are now, for a time, almost lost from history, while the names of tribes and confederacies from the central part of Europe are taking the place of those of individuals. The German people now appear as a great or controlling factor in shaping European events. This is especially the case in the Western Empire. The Eastern Empire, however, was not particularly troubled by the movements of the

[1] *Vide* Freeman: "Historical Course," New York, 1876, p. 103, 114.

anic tribes. The most that they asked of it was a
ge through its territory and such plunder as they
ı hurriedly gather on the march.[1]

Europe had become pretty thoroughly Aryanized be-
this time. The Etruscans were swallowed up by the
to-Italians. The Iberians, then as now, were, probably,



Arrival of the Huns in Europe.

Turanian merely in speech.[2] The Huns and Magyars had
ıot yet appeared upon the scene of European life. Their
›lace was probably filled by more or less pure Germanic
ribes. The Finns and Lapps that had not already yielded

[1] Freeman: "Historical Geography," The Goths, however, occupied Constantinople in 400 A. D. *Vide* Stokes: "Medieval History," Philadelphia, 1887, p. 26.

[2] Keane in Ramsay's, "Europe," p. 579.

to Aryan influences were but a fringe along the icy shores of the northern seas. To the east, the way was still open to Teuto-Aryan migration; and, during the long centuries that the Roman legions guarded the fords of the Rhine and the Danube against the westward passage of the Germans, the great surplus of Teutonic life must have flooded the steppes and plains of Russia.

But in the fourth century, a new people of Turanian origin appeared upon the eastern horizon, who became known in history as the Huns. Their ancestors were, perhaps, the people who had, before the dawn of history, cut off the Sarmatians from farther migration into the Trans-Caspian region, and who had been gradually filling up the steppes of Southern Russia. The vanguard of the invaders was now pressing hard upon the eastern border of the Slavic possessions. They were in possession of the basin of the Volga long before they were known to the Romans[1]; and, for an unknown time, there had been a steady advance toward the West. They gradually re-claimed the plains of Russia from the Aryans, who had come to consider them as their home.

Dacia was the only province that Rome ever held north of the Danube river, and Aurelian withdrew from this province as early as 270 A. D. It then became the home of powerful German tribes known as Goths. There were two confederacies, known afterwards as the West-Goths (Visi-Goths) and the East-Goths (Ostra-Goths.) Here they formed a state of considerable power. The Arian Bishop Ulfilas dwelt among them (about 375)[2] and by his preaching,[3] converted them to Christianity. For the

1 Millman's Gibbon: "Rome," Vol. II. p. 125 *et seq.*

2 This word is not derived from Aryan, but is the name of a religious sect. 3 His translation of the Scriptures is about the only specimen of Gothic writing that we have.

next century, there was much fighting between the Goths and the Romans along the Danube, which was the border line between the two. At last[1] the West-Gothic tribes, forced by the pressure of the Huns at their backs,[2] were allowed by Emperor Valens to cross the river, and were given a large tract of land upon which to settle.

Finally, the flood-gates of the Turanian home-land seem to have been burst asunder, and an irresistible deluge of Hunnish warriors swept over the whole of Eastern Europe and crowded hard upon the Goths. Even these stalwart Teutons were not able to stand against them. "Then the Danube, for many days and nights, was covered with a large fleet of boats and canoes, each sunk to the water's edge by its crowded freight of fugitives."[3] Some of these were induced by Bishop Ulfilas to adopt a settled mode of life in Moesia. But the most of them remained warriors, and their vast army of two hundred thousand fighting men was, for a moment, a barrier between Rome and the Huns.

If we turn now to Gaul, we perceive that the Rhine was no longer a barrier between the Empire and Germany. In the third and fourth centuries, we begin to hear the names of the Franks and the Burgundians, who were crossing the Rhine into the imperial territory.[4] At this time, Rome was steadily growing weaker. The Germans were pressing into her territory in every conceivable manner—they crowded into the Roman army; their chiefs conquered and held lands, as Roman officials, within her boundaries.[5] The time at length came when Rome could no longer defend her vast possessions. The Franks began to

[1] 376. [2] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 88-9. p. 22, *et seq.*
[3] "Land Marks of History," p. 106.
[4] Freeman: "Historical Geography," p. 85. [5] Ibid.

grate in bands and occupy Northern Gaul, while the
urgundians took like possession of Southeastern Gaul.
the same time, many of the German youths, attracted
the luxury and life of ease of the Roman citizen, were



Learning to be Barbarians.

willing to sell their birthright
dress and barbar
honors of Roman life.

to them, we find that some of the emperors even of this period,[1] who were raised to the purple by the border legions, could not conceal their Teutonic origin.[2]

By the close of the fourth century, Rome began to lose territory on all sides. She had reached the pinnacle of her fame, and the sad period of decline and ever lessening influence was now before her. She could no longer be called the world. Her doom was written. Luxury and profligacy reigned where once discipline and virtue held sway. The land, from which, in ages past, the pure streams of sturdy Romans had poured to subdue the world, had become defiled by Celtic, Egyptian, and Asiatic influence, and could produce nothing but a weak and effeminate race. It needed a powerful mixture of pure Aryan blood to reinvigorate this declining people. Such was to come from the baptism of the Old Empire with Teutonic blood, and was heralded by the Goths crossing the Danube, and the Franks and Burgundians, the Rhine. Such a flood was to cause much destruction, to cost many lives, and to entail much suffering. But from this, there was destined to emerge new nations and new Romes, far excelling the old in grandeur, power, and culture.

As soon as the West-Goths had become settled south of the Danube, they had a chance to test the strength of the imperial armies. Ill-treatment from Roman officials caused dissatisfaction, which led within two years to open rebellion. Emperor Valens, marching against them, was

[1] 200-400. A. D.

[2] Septimus Severus [193-211], Aurelian [270-275], and Maximian [286-305] were made emperors by the proclamation of the Pannonian legions. Claudius II. [269-270], Probus [276-282], and Valentinian I. [364-375] were of Pannonian origin. Vide Vambery, "Story of Hungary," New York, 1886, p. 22. Justinian was of "Gothic parentage." Vide Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 67.

feated and slain (378.)[1] Henceforth it was continual warre between the ruler of the Western Empire, and the oths and other German tribes. Theodosius, the last real



Scythic and the Gothic

emperor (379-395) of the united empire, was able by justice and good government to hold the Goths in check. Then

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 100-1.

succeeded Honorius (395-423) in the West and Arcadi (395-408) in the East. The empire was rent asunder, a Honorius, said to have been "cowardly and incapable, had not the power to defend his territories.

Honorius had one general, Stilicho, who was able manage the Goths; but, on the whole, they roamed a plundered as they pleased. Stilicho was put to death, a then no one could check their ravages. Under their leade Alaric, they took and sacked the Imperial city itself (410 and kept the Emperor penned up in his capital, which ha been changed from Rome to Ravenna.[2] The same yea the Emperor withdrew from Britain, which was ever aft independent of Rome. Alaric soon died; and Honoriu entered into a treaty with his successor, Athaulf, whereb the latter became Roman governor of Spain, whither h led the West-Goths and drove the Vandals into Afric Henceforth Southwestern Europe became a powerful Wes Gothic kingdom. These Vandals, a Teuto-Slavic[3] peopl who had early passed from Germany into Spain, took po session of Carthage (439), and soon grew in power so as t become formidable to Rome. Genseric, their chief, led h forces against that city which was captured (455), thoug by the intercession of Pope Leo I., it was saved fro universal pillage.

Pope Leo was the leading man at Rome at this tim The emperors were, as a class, without power, ability ambition, as we shall see in their dealings with the Hun This powerful people had now reached the Western Empi (433-454.)[4] The Roman general Aetius commanded th

[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 19. [2] Freeman: "Historic Course," p. 101.

[3] Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 12, note by Maury.

[4] If these people were on the Volga in A. D. 100, forced the Goth out of Dacia in 376, and invaded the Western Empire in 433-454, we fa

imperial forces. Atilla, "the Scourge of God," led the Hunnish horde, and first pushed forward into Gaul, sweeping everything before him. Theodoric, the West-Goth, rallied his forces and went to the aid of Aetius. At the battle of Chalons (451), the Huns were completely defeated, though it cost the life of Theodoric. This is one of the great battles of the world. Christianity, Aryan civilization, and all that distinguished Europe from Asia were at stake.[1] It was a struggle between Iran and Turan. The former were successful; and, although Atilla appeared before Rome (452), which was saved from plunder only by intercession of Pope Leo and by the power of Roman gold, the Turanians ultimately fell back beyond the Danube.

The Western Empire was now rapidly falling to pieces. There ruled a succession of weak emperors until 476 when the Senate voted that one emperor was enough, and that the eastern emperor, Zeno, should rule the whole empire. Zeno assumed the government, but never visited Rome. He appointed Odoacer, commander of the German mercenary troops, to rule as Patriarch at Ravenna as his representative. At the command of Odoacer Romulus, the claimant of the western crown, was forced to yield it up. But the triumph of Odoacer was short. The East-Goths were moving toward the west. Their king, Theodoric, conquered Odoacer, and, though in reality king, he "reigned (493-526) by an imperial commission" as Patrician.[2] "Italy under Theodoric was the most peaceful and flourishing

to understood the "lightening like speed "with which they crossed Europe, mentioned by some writers. We look upon their western advances as that of a powerful people in search of homes or plunder. They were probably no more hideous, blood-thirsty, and cruel than the more ordinary run of invaders of those troublous times.

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 102.

[2] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 102-3. "Historical Geography," p. 94-5.

country in the world, more peaceful and flourishing than it had been for a long time before or than it has ever been since till quite lately."[1]

In the meantime, the Eastern Empire was full of trouble. Though the religious history of this period will



Atilla at the Battle of Chalons.

be fully treated in the proper place, it is necessary to remark that already the Christian church was rent with dissensions. Arianism had arisen at Alexandria; Nestorian-

[1] Freeman: "Historical Course," p. 105.

a, at Constantinople; and both had been condemned by e councils of the Catholic church, while the emperors ere continually trying to mediate between these and her factions. The patriarchs at Constantinople, though



Odoacer Compels Romulus to Abdicate.

the head of the Eastern Church, were always subject to e emperor; but at Rome, the bishops had drifted into pes, who were the acknowledged head of the Western atin or Catholic) Church, and were already beginning to in ascendency in temporal power over political rulers. ow there was always a bitter enmity between the vario s

religious factions. The Goths and Vandals were Arian Christians. Theodoric ruled at Rome without stooping to the persecution of Catholics; but this stands out as an almost isolated example where, during medieval times, the sect in power did not persecute their weaker brethren.

When Justinian became emperor (527-565), he determined to unite the West with the East, and rule the whole in reality. His generals, Belisarius and Narses, entered Italy, conquered the Goths, and put an end to the Italian kingdom (553). Italy was now ruled from Ravenna by officers called exarchs. For two and a half centuries (550-800), there was no Western Empire. But another wave of Turanian people, the Avars, had now appeared in Central Europe, where they dwelt for nearly two and a half centuries (566-796). They took possession of the valley of the Danube.[1] They displaced a Teutonic people known as Lombards, who, in turn, sought homes in the valley of the Po (567). These Lombards formed the third Teutonic kingdom that had been formed in Italy; and they ruled nearly the whole of the peninsula except Rome, Ravenna, Naples, and Venice. Though Rome never fell before the Lombards, the Exarchate at Ravenna was finally conquered by them (753). The Lombards remained a power in Italy for centuries, and we shall hear more of them as we proceed.

In the fifth century, we find German tribes crossing the English channel, penetrating into Britain, and forming a host of petty kingdoms there, which finally shifted around into seven more or less well defined confederacies. The bonds of confederation were, however, very loose, and many tribes seem to have remained independent for a long time to come. Now three—Sussex (477), Wessex

[1] Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 24-5.


EUROPE
in the middle of the 16th Century
PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION
ICELAND
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
KD OF SCOTLAND
IRELAND
KD OF ENGLAND
KD OF DENMARK
KD OF FRANCE
KD OF ALGIERS
Republic of Novgorod
EMPIRE OF THE CZAR OF MUSCOVY
Gd Dy. of LITHUANIA
Pr. of Transylvania
Pr. of Wallachia
Pr. of Moldavia
Black Sea
Trebizond
Caspian Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

95), and Essex (500)—of these confederacies were of axon origin; three—Northumbria (547), Anglia (455-9), and Mercia (584)—were of Anglian origin; while e—Kent (465)—was of Jutish origin. All were "Low utch,"[1] that is coming from the low lands along the altic Sea. These loosely organized confederacies form e so-called Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms. The Angles ave furnished us with the name of our English race, hile from the combination of Angle and Saxon, we have ne ethnical term Anglo-Saxon.[2]

Interest now centers in Gaul, and we must consider he rise of the Frankish power. Near the end of the fth century, we read of Clovis (481-511), who made himelf ruler of much of ancient Gaul. Around his head, here cluster many legends of his prowess and virtue, among which, the most often repeated is the one concerning the vase of Soissons—of "marvellous size and beauty." Clovis was a pagan, and this vase was among the plunder that his warriors took from the church at Rheims. At the request of the bishop, St. Reni, Clovis wished to return it to the church, but when the spoil was divided, an ill-natured Frank dashed it to pieces with his battle-axe. This was his right as a Frank, or "Freeman." But before a year had passed, Clovis found an opportunity when it was his privilege to punish the Frank, and struck him dead with a battle-axe saying: "Thus didst thou to the vase of Soissons."[3]

[1] The terms High Dutch and Low Dutch often occur in history, the former meaning the inhabitants of inland or Southern Germany, and the latter, the population of the lowlands along the coast. *Vide* "Historical Course," p. 107.

[2] *Vide* Buckley: "History of England," London, 1887, p. 18.

[3] For extended account *Vide* Guizot: "History of France," Black's translation, Boston, Vol. I. p. 138 *et seq.*

In regard to the life of Clovis, this much is true. was the first Frankish chieftain to rise into promine The eyes of the religious world were upon him ; and tl was rivalry between the Arians and Catholics, each deavoring to achieve his conversion. He (492) recei in marriage Clotilda, the Catholic princess of Burgun and soon (496) became a devout Catholic. Henceforth was the Catholic champion against the Arian West-Got At the battle of Poitiers (507), Clovis broke the powe the West-Goths north of the Pyrenees, and checked further spread of the Arian religion in that direction. defeated the Roman governor of Gaul and became, at l (508), consul by the appointment of the Emperor Ana sius. Under Clovis, then, we have the first appeara on the map of Europe of a state somewhat resembl modern France.

But this territory was to undergo many changes fore our own times. When Clovis died (511), it was divi among his four sons. This line of rulers was known the Merovingian dynasty. And the history of these p ces was "one long, dreary story of blood, vice, and cruelt They became so weak and incapable that their provin were ruled by deputies known as Mayors of the Pala The princes were mere figure-heads and, at last (7[1] passed away altogether. Pippin, one of these Mayors the Palace, encouraged by the Pope, asserted his pov deposed the last Merovingian king, and ruled a uni Frankish empire for seventeen years (751-768), gain even greater renown than his illustrious father, Cha Martel (Mayor of the Palace 715-741), who gave the na of Karlings to this dynasty, and of whom we shall h

[1] "Medieval History," p. 47.

[2] Really the tribal chiefs of the older period.

again in connection with the Lombards and the Saracens.

If we were to glance at a map of Europe showing the ruling people at the beginning of the sixth century A. D., we would perceive how thoroughly Western Europe had become intermixed with Teuto-Aryan blood. The Celts were driven either to the farthest corner of ancient Gaul and to the remotest shores of the British Isles, or had become the serfs of Teutonic over-lords. Cæsar's Gaul and Spain were occupied by the Teutonic kingdoms of the Suevi, West-Goths, Franks, and Burgundians. The East-Goths occupied the whole of Italy. The northern and eastern banks of the Rhine and of the Danube were the homes of the Saxons, Thuringians, Lombards, and Gepidæ; while the Angles, Jutes, and some of the Saxons had already reached the shores of Britain. The European possessions of the Eastern Empire had dwindled away to a small portion of the Hellenic peninsula south of the Danube river—Thrace and Illyricum. The Slaves at last take their place along the eastern borders of Teutonic realms, situated so as to receive the brunt of the later battles with the Avars and other invading Turanians.[1]

The Eastern Empire was at this time eking out an almost uneventful career. Theodosius II. (408-450) initiated the work of compiling the customs, usages, and laws of the Roman court into a code of laws. Justinian (527-565) took up the work and gave the world the "Justinian code," which is the foundation of much of modern European law. As a legislator, he had no equal among the early emperors. The imperial throne was occupied by Heraclius (610-641). During his reign, Jerusalem was captured by the Persians, but was afterward retaken. A new element in the world's history made its appearance early in the seventh century.

[1] Hallam: "Middle Ages," New York, 1880, Vol. I. p. 1-2.

This was the rise of Mohammedanism. It was during th reign of Heraclius (June 18th, 622) that the Hegira c Mohammed occurred. And thus was inaugurated one o the most important religious movements of the world, on that was to weld the Semitic tribes of the desert into a powerful government, destined to make Christian Europe tremble before it.

Mohammedanism will be fully treated in its proper place. It is sufficient here to note that the founder belonged to the ruling family of one of the most powerful tribes o Arabs, the Koreysh tribe, which had for a long time rule over Northern Arabia. Mohammed was born at Mecca but was forced to flee to Medina, and this flight is th "Hegira" of Mohammedanism. The Mohammedan er dates from that event. The particular faith known a Mohammedanism is said to have been compounded fro all the philosophical religions of that day. Its peculia tenets are set forth in the Koran, the Bible of Mohamme This new faith rapidly spread over the plains and deser of the East, and especially among the wandering trib of Arabia. The followers of Mohammed are called Sar cens; and, with the battle cry of "The Koran, the swor or tribute," they entered upon their era of conquest. T successors of the Prophet were called Caliphs.

Omar, the second caliph, was father-in-law to t Prophet. Under his rule the faith was carried into Syri Persia, Central Asia, and Egypt. Alexandria was take and its famous library burned. The caliph claimed that i these books agreed with the Koran they were superfluous; if they disagreed, they were pernicious and ought to be destroyd.[1] The Ommiade dynasty of caliphs ruled at Da mascus until 750; the Abbasside dynasty, at Bagdad, from

[1] Dawe: "Land Marks of History," p. 91.

when the last caliph was slain by the grand-
ongol chieftain, Genghis Khan. These Sara-
in every direction. They reached India on
d Spain on the west, the same year (711).
ng the first century of their existence, they be-
stantinople. In 673 they were beaten back by



The Alcazar in Spain.
[*Saracen Architecture.*]

rmies of Constantine IV. Finally Leo I. (717
r defeated them that no "Moslem army ever
red under the walls of New Rome until the cali
assed away and a sterner race of conqueror
ed its mission."[1] The Saracens entered Spain

[1] reeman: "History and Conquests of the Saracens," Lon

and in three years had completed its conquest.[1] comparative ease with which they gained contro this peninsula is somewhat surprising; but, when consider, that the population of Spain and Nortl Africa were no doubt kindred, that the straits v the highway over which the Phoenicians and the ot conquerors of Spain had passed, and that the mass of population were held in the condition of serfs to fore or West-Gothic over-lords, we can account for the ra conquest of the country by the Mohammedans. As t spread over the peninsula, the most powerful Gothic ch tains rallied their tribesmen about them, fortified s(mountain fastnesses, and waged continual warfare with Saracens until the latter were finally driven out by] dinand and Isabella (1492). In fact, it is to these ba of independent West-Goths in their mountain homes we are to look for the germs from which sprung the k doms of Castile, Aragon, Leon, and Portugal, and by union of the first three, the kingdom of Spain itself.[2]

The Saracenic government in Spain is said[3] to l been one of the best of its age. Religious persecu happened only in cases where it was invited by zea who had determined upon martyrdom. Literature cultivated; and, in architecture, the ruins of the Alham testify to the degree of perfection and grandeur which t had attained. In time (about 755), Spanish Moham dans became alienated from their brethren in the E and a separate caliphate (the Western) was formed. satisfied with the conquest of the peninsula, the Sara crossed the Pyrenees and began to encroach upon the

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 111.
[2] Freeman: "History and Conquests of the Saracens," p. 138-9.
[3] Ibid. 137 *et seq.*
[4] *Vide* Irving: "The Alhambra."

ritory of the Burgundians and Franks. The cities of Southern Gaul became for a time Saracenic.[1]

Charles Martel, though only a mayor of the palace, was really the chief man among the Franks at this time. As the Saracens grew bolder, by reason of a succession of conquests, they penetrated farther and farther into Frankish territory. Charles Martel summoned all the forces of Gaul, and met the invaders at Tours or Poiters (732). Another of the decisive battles of the world was fought, and the Aryan triumphed over the Semite. The Saracens were driven to the south of the Pyrenees, and these mountains henceforth remained the boundary between the two races in the West. By this battle, Europe was preserved to the Aryans.

It will be remembered that Charles Martel was the founder of the Frankish dynasty known as the Karlings.[2] When Pippin, the son of Charles, was king of the Franks, the Lombards,[3] after conquering nearly all of Italy, appeared at the gates of Rome. Pope Stephen III. invited Pippin to enter Italy and save the imperial city. Pippin was successful, and restored the exarchate to the empire. For this service, he was made patrician, or governor, of the exarchate (Rome and vicinity), for Rome still regarded herself as a part of the empire and bowed to the imperial authority at Constantinople.

Pippin was succeeded by his son, Charlemagne, who raised the Frankish kingdom to its greatest power. His reign might be called the Golden Age of the Franks, as distinguished from the later French, for this people never again enjoyed such power and happiness as during his wise reign. Conquests were pushed in all directions.

1 "Historical Geography," p. 111-12.
2 Above p. 346. 3 Above p. 342. 4 Charles the Great, 768-814.

His armies were everywhere carrying peace to those who chose to submit to his authority, the sword to those who withstood his arms. The Saxons were his most obstinate subjects, for he tried to force them to change their religion. They desired independence and the privilege of worshiping



Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel.

their own gods. Though many of them submitted to baptism at the point of the sword, they worshiped their pagan gods in peace. The ruthless hand of the destroyer, however, cut down their images and defiled their sacred places. Revolt after revolt happened, proving to Charlemagne that they were still pagans, and the only way to save

their souls was to take their lives. So he assembled over four thousand of their foremost tribesmen and caused their heads to be struck off in one day.[1] The remnant continued to fight until each small band was conquered or annihilated.

The Avars were by this time crowding over the mountains and threatening the Franks.[2] They already held the Byzantine (or Eastern) Empire under annual tribute. But, toward the close of the eighth century, Charlemagne drove them back to their Danubian home.[3] The Lombards were again threatening the imperial city, and Charlemagne responded to her call for help. He (774) completely subdued these dangerous neighbors, and held them under subjection for the remainder of his reign.

The cruel Irene had usurped the throne at Constantinople. The Imperialists at Rome claimed that a woman could not be Caesar and turned their eyes toward Charlemagne, the saver of the imperial city, the champion of Christianity against Paganism, as the only proper person to occupy the seat of Caesar. Amidst great pomp and ceremony, on the last day of December, in the year 800, as Charlemagne knelt at the altar in St. Peters at Rome, Pope Leo III. placed upon his head a crown, and, amid the acclamations of the people, proclaimed him Emperor and Augustus.

In this manner was the Western Empire revived, though a Teuton wore the crown; and we must remember that the Western Empire was ever afterward a truly German Empire, and nearly all the emperors were kings of Germany. Charlemagne never became the slave of the

[1] Guizot: "History of France," Vol. I. p. 216-17.
[2] Above p. 334.
[3] *Vide* Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 24-5.

Pope. He openly differed from the church and its council by rejecting their decrees to authorize image worship when sent to him.[1] So, too, he was in advance of his time in regard to culture. His reign was a period when great progress was making; literature and art were encouraged; and, at his invitation, France became filled with scholars of the day.

The mind of Charlemagne was one of those master minds that could carry on conquest after conquest, spreading his power in all directions, and, at the same time, capable of conceiving and perfecting plans for the improvement of his subjects, for the advancement of education, and for the introduction of good government. Ordinarily, if the prince be a soldier, his mind is too much filled with his plans of conquest to be able to attend to his government; if he be a scholar and legislator, he is utterly incapable of defending his possessions from the encroachment of his neighbors. While Charlemagne was extending his empire in all directions, he was holding the reins of government with a strong hand; shaping the religion of the Catholic church; establishing schools throughout his vast domain; and bringing scholars from the ends of the world to preside over them. Though he was continually called upon to battle with Saxons, Danes, Saracens, Slaves, Avars, and Lombards, the internal portion of his empire was enjoying the prosperity of a time of peace, and reaping the rich rewards in culture that always attend such eras in the history of a country. When Charlemagne died (814), his empire extended from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the banks of the Danube.[2]

[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 51.

[2] We must not forget that Charlemagne is one of those persons

The Eastern Empire did not recognize Charlemagne as mperor of Rome, neither did they acknowledge the right f the Pope to crown him. They went right on electing mperors, and they considered that "the emperor anointed



St. Sophia at Constantinople.

n St. Sophia had a right which none could take away, o reign over the Old Rome as well as the New. Each mperor (East and West) in short, asserted himself to be he one true Emperor and the other to be an impostor or a yrant."[1] The act of Pope Leo III. in crowning Charle-

round whose names have clustered many myths *Vide* Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol I. p. 23 *et seq.*

1 Freeman: "Chief Periods of European History," London, 1886, p. 67.

magne was an open and ever widening breach between Rome and Constantinople.

The two empires were now absolutely and finally separated, and henceforth led separate existences. So too with the churches, the Pope became the head of the Western Church, while the Patriarch at Constantinople became the head of the Eastern Church. As time passed, both empires and churches drifted further and further apart, and the most bitter hostilities and jealousics came to exist between them. The Eastern Empire and Church became decidedly Greek, and are often mentioned as the Greek Empire or the Greek Church. The Western Empire and Church as often bear the names of Latin Empire and Latin Church.[1] So great did the hostility bebetween the two become, that we shall find one army of crusaders turning aside to besiege Constantinople as though it were a city of unbelievers. But in the East, we will always find the Patriarch subject to the political power of the emperor; while, in the West, we must notice how the Pope began gradually to acquire political power until his decree of excommuniction was more powerful than the army of a prince.[2]

As the strength of the Mohammedans increased, the strength of the Eastern Empire decreased. Occasionally a superior line of sovereigns would gain control of the government and the empire would blaze out like a meteor among the powers of the world. The Basilian dynasty (867-1057) was such an one. Basil I. was a Macedonian.[3] During his reign, Photius was patriarch of Constantino-

1 "Historical Geography," p. 366.

2 For example we would refer to the defeat of Harold by William the Conqueror, and the journey of Henry to Conossa. *Vide* Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 656-7.

3 Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 114.

ple and instructor of Prince Leo, the philosopher. The reigns of Leo (886-912) and of his son Constantine VII. (912-959) form "one of the most properous eras of the Byzantine literature."[1] During the childhood of Basil II. (963-1025), Nicephoras (963-969) and Zimices (969-975) were in turn raised to the position of colleague with the Emperor, by marriage with Theophona, the empress. They were the greatest generals of their age, and, in succession commanded the royal army. Basil profited by their training, and was one of the few of the later emperors who was able to lead his own armies to victory.

Under these three generals, the imperial army twice defeated the Russians.[2] The Bulgarians were conquered by Basil himself, and were most inhumanly treated. The boundaries of the empire again embraced the most of Asia Minor, the Euxine basin, the Hellenic peninsula, and a part of Southern Italy. But Basil seems to have introduced changes in the government, which, by promoting favorites to the chief positions, ultimately destroyd the old civil service organization. The Basilian dynasty came to an end in 1057 by the the nobles transferring the crown to one of their own number, Isaac Comnenus.[3]

The capital of the Eastern Empire was not only open to attack from the Turks and Mongols, but her relations with the Western Empire were becoming more and more estranged. In the West, the great crusades were forming. These crusades were great armies of men marching to the rescue of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher. The commanders lacked power; and the soldiers of the Cross, unity and discipline. As they passed

[1] Gibbon's "Rome," Vol. V. p. 379.

[2] These people had risen in power so as to become formidable to the empire, as we shall see in the proper place.

[3] *Vide* Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 610 *et seq.*

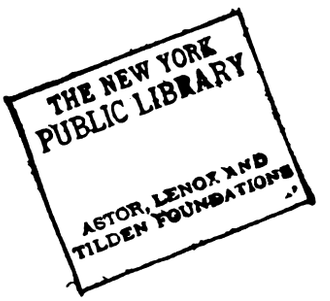
through the country, they were very lax in observing the rights of property holders and the laws of hospitality. Constantinople, more than any other city, was subject to outrages from these lawless hordes, as they often encamped in that vicinity. Then, too, numbers of these western people adopted the eastern capital as their home, never returning to their native lands. Finally their presence became intolerable, and (in 1183) all the Latin residents in that city were massacred. The fourth crusade, therefore, turned aside from its real mission, twice besieged Constantinople, and captured the city in 1204. For nearly sixty years (1204-1261), a Latin dynasty ruled the Eastern Empire, although the Greek emperors ruled at Nicaea and Trebizond.

In a few lines, we can give the story of the final fall of the Eastern Empire, and with it the disappearance of the Roman Empire from the pages of history. The thirteenth century witnessed strange upheavals in the Orient. The great Genghis Khan subdued nearly all Asia to his rule. His empire, however, as rapidly disintegrated on the death of its founder, as it had sprung into being under the guidance of his genius. Out of the ruins of his empire there arose into prominence the Ottoman Turks. They rapidly swallowed up the provinces of Asia; and in 1343 they entered Europe. Their season of conquest continued. They conquered the Slaves and the Hungarians. Under Sultan Bajazet, they triumphed over the combined forces of Europe (1396), led by king Sigismund of Hungary, at the battle of Nicopolis.[1] They drafted the flower of the Christian youth into their armies, so that their soldiers were as powerful as any in Europe. The knights of the

[1] *Vide* Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 183.



CLOVIS AND THE VASE OF SOISSONS. 359


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West were powerless before them. At last, (1402) Sultan Bajanet sent a message to the Emperor which read: "By the Divine clemency, our cimetar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city; stipulate thy reward; or tremble for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequence of a rash refusal."[1] The Emperor sought aid from the West but to no avail. But the Mongols, rising into power under Timour, or Tamerlane,[2] gained a respite of a half a century for the fated city, while the Turks were busy subduing the rebellious Mongols. The Ottomans, however, besieged the capital in 1421, but still she held out. The Greeks tried, in every way, to reconcile themselves with the Western Empire and the Western Church, but no substantial aid was sent.

Mohammed II. became Sultan of the Ottoman Turks in 1451. Crossing the Hellespont, he laid siege to Constantinople. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1453, that city fell before the arms of the unbelievers, and the Christian temple of St. Sophia became a Mohammedan Mosque. Eight years later the Sultan conquered the Greek empire of Trebizond. The Eastern Empire was no more. Rome, that proud mistress of the world, now existed only as the German Empire of the West; and the seat of Christian power and learning had passed into the hands of the unbelievers. The Turkish power continued to spread, although it had met with some checks by the Hungarians under the great "Raven Knight," John Hunyadi, but this was for a moment only. When the Turkish Empire had

1 Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 243.
2 Probably a Turk. *Vide* "Historical Course," p. 225.

attained its greatest European limits, it included the Euxine basin, Podolia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and a large part of Hungary. From these boundaries, it has since greatly fallen away.



Fall of Constantinople.

Returning now to the west of Europe, let us take up the thread of history with the successors of Charlemagne. They were weaker and less capable rulers than their illustrious ancestor. By the treaty of Verdun (843), the great empire which he founded was divided among his three grandsons. Charles the Bald was given rule over the Western Franks, who afterward became the French. Lewis became king of the Eastern Franks, or Germans

er. Lothair was called king of Italy, although his inions extended in a broad belt from below Rome ırd the northwest, between the other two kingdoms, ı to the German ocean. Here we have the germs of e prominent nations of our day, although there was



The Huns in Germany.

h shifting about and changing of border lines before ; assumed their modern shapes. Nearly the whole itory was again united under Charles the Fat (884-887). n it again fell apart, and broke up into many king-

doms, principalities, dukedoms, and commonwealths. But throughout all this series of changes, the Western Empire of Rome was still feigned to exist, and one of the kings was elected as emperor.

Perhaps the best way of treating our subject from this point is to give a brief outline of the various modern nations in Europe, as they gradually emerged out of these three divisions of Charlemagne's empire. Under the successors of Lothair, Italy was a hot-bed of contending factions. The Greeks entered and occupied Lombardy. The Saracens occupied Sicily and extended their conquests further north. The Magyars penetrated the peninsula from the north, and the Northmen ravaged the coast. Then there came a time when a number of petty kings contended for superiority in Italy. The greater part of Lotharingia had by this time fallen away.

King Otto the Great, of Germany, came to the rescue of Italy, was crowned emperor (962), and Italy was united to Germany. Henceforth it was a rule, that "the king of Germany had the right to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, and to be crowned Emperor at Rome."[1] Now the petty kingdoms were held in check, and the independence of the principal cities was encouraged. Thereafter many of them became republics, or commonwealths, and rose to enormous power and wealth. They made wars and thus added to their possessions, so that their power was by no means limited or indicated by the extent of their city walls. The most important of these cities were Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Naples, Florence, Milan, Verona, Padua, and, of course, Rome as head of the states of the church. Nearly all of the cities of Italy were at times, and some of them at all times, fiefs of Rome. At Florence, the

[1] Ibid. p. 140.

home of Dante (1265-1321) and the birthplace of Michael Angelo (1475-1564), there arose the renowned house of the Medici, that furnished a number of popes, and caused much trouble to the emperors.

While Frederic Barbarossa was emperor (1152-1190), the great Lombard league of the cities of Northern Italy was at the height of its power. There were two factions of cities, Guelphic (Imperial and anti-Pope) and Ghibeline (Popish and anti-Emperor). "Round Guelphic Milan and Ghibeline Pavia, gathered a crowd of famous names: Como, Bergamo, and Brescia, Lodi, Crema and Cremona, Tortona, Piacenza, Parma, and Alessandria."[1] Barbarossa was defeated (1176) by the Ghibelines, and the Lombard cities gained their independence.[2]



Leaning Tower at Pisa.

Pisa, Genoa, and Venice were the great naval powers of medieval times. The former is said to have "forestalled the crusades and won back lands from the Saracens." While an idea of her greatness is still to be gained by her "cathedral, baptistry, and bell tower." Genoa was still more powerful. She extended her commerce to the Black Sea, on whose shore she built factories. She defied the navies of the world, for she could muster and man an armament of one hundred and fifty-five galleys—in one battle conquering the navies of the Venetians, the Catalans, and the Greeks. At last (1378), she threatened Venice herself with siege. But on

[1] "Historical Geography," p 237.

[2] This was during a period when the popes and emperors were contending with one another for precedence in temporal power.

the whole, Venice was the greatest of the three powers and retained her independence until modern times.

When Atilla led the Huns into Italy, they destroyed the city of Aquileia, and her inhabitants fled to the islands of the Adriatic, where they laid the foundations of Venice (452). This city grew and flourished. For a number of centuries, she acknowledged allegiance to the Eastern Empire, but joined the Lombard league, and finally rose to the chief place among the maritime powers of the world. She gained her independence with the rest of the Italian cities. Then she first became an oligarchy (1297), then a republic (1311), remaining such until 1797. We must not regard Venice as merely a city built upon a few islands at the head of the Adriatic. But from that as a center of action, she extended her power in all directions; on the mainland, along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, Dalmatia, Crete, Cyprus, Thessalonica, the Peloponnesus; in fact, she became mistress of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. In naval warfare, she was all-powerful, and was acquainted with the most advanced methods,[1] deeming herself, even in her last days, powerful enough to offer war to England.[2] Her seamen taught other nations the science of navigation as we shall see. When Constantinople fell, she became the bulwark of Christianity against the Turks upon the sea, as Poland did upon the land.

In Southern Italy, the kingdom of Naples arose and grew into the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The foundation of this power was laid by the Normans (of whom we shall speak again), who appeared on the scene early in

[1] *Vide* battle between the Venetians and Normans in Barlow: "The Normans in South Europe," London, 1886, p. 171.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," Philadelphia, 1887, p. 345.

leventh century. Their leaders were the De Haute-
, and came from France. They sought conquest and
re in Italy and found both. Apulia, Naples, Sicily,
conquered in succession,[1] and Roger II. added Capua
large tract in Northern Africa, reigning over the
e as vassal of the pope.[2] These Norman rulers in-
ed with the affairs of the two empires, and were
g the foremost leaders in the Latin conquest of Con-



The Rialto at Venice.

inople. They finally became so powerful as to alarm
opes who then favored the Angevin claimants to
n possessions. Charles of Anjou was raised to the

[1] *Vide* Jewett: "Story of the Normans," New York, 1887, p. 138

[2] The De Hautevilles were the tools of the Pope [*Vide* Barlow: ians in South Europe."] Although they were powerful enough to pendent, they were aware that they were foreigners and usurp- nd they gained much local power and protection from inter- on the part of other rulers by holding their possessions as fiefs pope.

throne of Naples (1272) and ruled also at Acre as king of Jerusalem. The Spanish Aragonese princes were also claimants to the throne of Naples. Sicily revolted to them in 1282 and Ferdinand was at last (1464) fully recognized as the king of the two Sicilies.[1]

On the whole, however, this was not an unprogressive period for Italy. During this and successive periods the



The Norsemen Menacing Italy.

peninsula first fell asunder into principalities, which vanished before the growth of free cities, then these cities became principalities which all have merged into the present kingdom of Italy under the rule of the Savoy princes.

Turning our attention to Germany proper, a wide and

[1] "Naples and Sicily."

confused field of observation is before us. But all through the history of Germany, we must bear in mind, that the king was elective, and that the country was broken up into many independent principalities, duchies, etc., whose ruling men, and, finally, whose princes formed the council of the kingdom and the electors of the king. The dynasty of



Mongols Crossing the Volga.

the Karlings lasted nearly a century when the Saxon Duke, Henry the Fowler, was elected to the throne (918-936). He was called upon at once to defend Western Europe from a new people, who had settled in the Danubian region.

These were the Magyars, a Finnish or at least a Turanian people, who have to this day retained their Ugrian

form of speech. They founded there a state that afterward became the kingdom of Hungary and one of the principal divisions of the Austrian empire.[1] Although they had become Christianized, they had not lost their love of war and conquest. In fact, the gold of the Karlings had more than once saved their kingdoms from Magyar inroads. Henry the Fowler agreed to pay tribute for ten years, and during that time he organized a powerful army and built defenses for the protection of his subjects. At the end of the truce, he was not only determined to stop tribute, but to defend his kingdom, and was successful in doing both. He also made the Danish king his vassal.

Otto I. (936-973) was the "greatest sovereign of the tenth century."[2] He not only crushed the Magyar power, but twice delivered the Pope from the power of petty Italian kings. He was crowned emperor (962) at Rome; and, as we have stated, henceforth the king of Germany was considered heir to the thrones of Italy and the Empire. The imperial crown was received from the hands of the Pope. So far as Germany was concerned, this was not a wise step; for nearly all the rulers who held the triple crown were obliged to neglect the affairs of Germany for those of the Empire, to the detriment of the former. It was customary in those days for bishops, prelates, and abbots to have temporal possessions, and so they became members of the national council. While the king was away attending to his imperial duties, the power of the central government was growing weaker through the demands of the princes, bishops, etc., for greater privileges. But Otto was strong enough to retain his full powers. The

[1] Vambury: "Story of Hungary," p. 28 *et seq.*
[2] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 79.

undaries of the empire were enlarged. The kings of enmark, Poland, and Bohemia were his acknowledged assals.[1]

Conrad II. (1024-1039) introduced the Franconian ne of emperors. Of this dynasty, Henry III. (1039-1056) ands out pre-eminent. In his time, the pope bowed to e temporal power of the emperor. But from his time own, the pope grew in temporal power while the em- eror decreased in equal degree. Henry III. entered Italy, eposed three rival popes, and appointed a succession of ermans to the office of chief pontiff, by the first of hom he was crowned emperor. Henry also wore the ingly diadem of Burgundy, so that he possessed four owns, thus we can see how the boundaries of the empire ere changing.[2]

From this time the quarrel between prince and pope ew more bitter. A number of modern nations had be- un to form, and the kings of all were devout Catholics, ually ready to fight the battles of the pope and es- ecially when invited to make war against their own atural sworn enemies. The popes were not now depen- ent upon the temporal power of the emperors, and began try to render the latter submissive to their dictums. hile Henry IV. (1056-1106) was emperor, the great ildebrande (Gregory VII.) was pope, and he strove in ery way to establish the supremacy of the church. He was first pope to enforce the law that the clergy should marry, and he established the further rule that no

[1] Ibid. p. 55.

[2] Burgundy was the name of first, a kingdom, which was often independent, or, at most, a vassal to some greater power, usually Germany; and, a duchy entirely distinct from the kingdom and usually, if not always, vassal of the French king: third, the country which was a part of the kingdom and a fief of the empire. They all were from the Middle or Lothairingian kingdom. *Vide* "Historical Geography."

temporal prince "should bestow any ecclesiastical benefices." The emperors and princes were very jealous of this right of "investiture," whereby they might reward their friends, who were not soldiers, with abbacies and bishoprics. From this time, there was much fighting between the armies of pope and prince over this one cherished privilege. Henry IV., refusing to submit, waged war against Gregory VII.; but the pope's curse against his followers brought the emperor to Conossa as a suppliant, but only to return, raise a new army, and banish Gregory from Rome. Henry V. (1106-1125) inherited the struggle, and so it continued.[1]

The Hohenstaufen dynasty succeeded to the imperial throne in 1137.[2] They were dukes of Swabia and were violently opposed to the dukes of Bavaria. The followers of the one were dubbed Ghibelins (Waiblingen), and those of the other Guelfs (Welf). But the popes were at the bottom of this quarrel also; and, as we have already seen, the former were imperialists and the latter papists.[3] The Hohenstaufens, therefore, inherited this old quarrel, though they were the most devout of Catholics and were foremost in their crusades against unbelievers.

The most illustrious rulers of this line were the two Fredericks. Frederick I. (or Barbarossa–red beard—1152-1190) spent most of his time in Italy, where, as we have seen, he was defeated at the battle of Legnano (1176) by the Lombard league. This is recorded as a great victory for the papists. His rule in Germany, as she was left

1 *Vide* This Series, Vol. IV.

2 Baring-Gould: "Story of Germany," New York, 1886, p. 113 *et seq.*

3 "The Waiblingen family long ago died out, but the Welf remains. It is represented by Queen Victoria of England and the Duke of Brunswick. It is one of the most ancient reigning houses that exists." Ibid. 116.

cipally to herself, was "peaceful, flourishing, and pop-
." But the Guelfs, under Henry the Lion, caused
e trouble. Barbarossa entered upon the third crusade,



Barbarossa Asking Aid of King Henry.

ling a land force to the aid of Richard of England and
lip of France, but was drowned while crossing a stream

on the way. He left the enviable name of the greatest of German emperors after Charlemagne.[1]

Frederick II. [1212-1250], grandson of Barbarossa, came to the throne while a mere boy; and, before he reached maturity, was forced to dispute his throne with two powerful rivals—Philip of Swabia and Otto IV. of Brunswick. He was usually successful in his wars, though the popes were continually stirring up his subjects to rebellion. He regained some of the territories that his predecessors had lost, and, in the end, possessed seven crowns —those of the Empire, Germany, Lombardy, Sicily, Burgundy, Sardinia, and Jerusalem. In order to lessen his power, the popes kept him under the ban of excommunication during the whole of the latter part of his reign. Pope Gregory IX. finally sent him on a crusade. Sickness prevented his reaching the Holy Land at first, but the pope refused to listen to his messengers. When, at last, he did reach Palestine, he accomplished more than any one who had preceded him, for he forced the Sultan to a treaty whereby all the holy places were recovered,[2] though it is said that the pope ordered all eastern Christians to hold aloof from him and render him no aid. When he returned, crowned with success, the bans were not removed. As Freeman[3] says, he was "cursed first, for not going on the crusade, then cursed again for going, cursed most of all for actually winning the prize of so many struggles." When Frederick returned, he found his vassals in rebellion, and a new blast of papal anathemas awaiting him. At last the bans of the pope had the desired effect. To gain the smile of the pope, his vassals fell away from him, one after another. They sought to divide the empire among

[1] Ibid. 120. [2] Ibid. 132.
[3] "Chief Periods of European History," p. 163.

emselves, for now they had an excuse. "The robbers joiced over their spoils. Then were the plowshares aten into swords, and the reaping-hooks into lances. No ne went anywhere without steel and stone to set in a laze whatever he could fire."

Frederick II. died (1250), and the Hohenstaufen lynasty lasted only four years longer. With it, the glory of the empire passed away from Germany. No prince was found daring enough to accept the imperial diadem while the fates of the Fredericks were fresh before their minds.[1] A long inter-regnum followed (1256-1273), with no one at the head of the empire, every prince was independent. There was no power to restrain the ambitious. Everyone did as he pleased. There arose a generation of "robber knights," who built strong castles in places easiest of defense. Rushing out from their defenses, they plundered travelers and the unprotected, robbing, murdering, and imprisoning for ransom the men, and making the women captives. It was a terrible time for Germany, and those princes who desired to restore order were almost powerless. There arose during this period, for the protection of trade, a number of mercantile leagues that gained enough power to carry on wars and to make treaties. The most noted of these was the Hanseatic League, of which we shall say more in its proper place.[2]

Up in the mountains of Switzerland, there lie the ruins of an old castle, that was built in 1020. This was the cradle of the imperial house of Austria. Here the Hapsburgs rose into power. From this old castle, the German empire finally chose an emperor, Rudolph (1273-1291), a vigorous, energetic man, capable of restoring order in Germany. He began by engaging the king of Bohemia

[1] "Story of Germany," p 136. [2] Ibid. 146-7.

in battle, in which Rudolph was victorious, and by which he gained the Duchy of Austria and other possessions in Central Europe,[1] which have ever since remained in possession of the Hapsburgs. Rudolph is said to have destroyed seventy castles of robber knights in Germany. It was during his reign that the foundation to the Swiss Republic was laid. Three cantons—Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden—rose in rebellion, formed a league, and later, established their independence.

Albert (1298-1308) established himself on the throne by the defeat of Adolph of Nassau. He sent the "tyrant," Gessler, as governor to crush the Swiss revolt. A half-witted peasant[2] shot him, and Albert himself was assassinated by orders of his nephew, John, a pretender to the throne. Thus we are furnished with the facts from which the fable of Tell and the apple has arisen. The reign of the Hapsburg dynasty was broken (1308-1437) by a succession of emperors elected from the various princes of Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. The most distinguished of these emperors was Charles IV. (Bohemia, 1347-1378) who is renowned as the author of the famous "golden bull," so-called from its seal of gold. This edict established (1356) a fixed number of electors, by whom and from whom the future emperors should be chosen. It further fixed the place of election at Frankfort and the place of crowning at Aix. The electors were seven, as follows: Princes of Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate of the Rhine; and the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves.[3]

Another house now makes its appearance in Germany.

1 Ibid. 148-150.

2 Toffel, Toll, Tell, means half-witted. *Vide* Baring-Gould, Op. cit., p. 151-2.

3 Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 140.

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MARAUDING NORSEMEN

1415 **Frederick**, count of Hohenzollern, was granted **march of Brandenburg.** From that time, the princes **that house have been** prominent among the rulers of rope.[1] **The Hapsburgs** came into power again with **bert II. (1438-1439).** From that time until the male e **became extinct** (1740), the emperors were of the old **apsburg dynasty.** Emperor William of our own time a **Hohenzollern,** descended from the old line of counts.

We have reached a period when religious reforms be- **an to be preached.** John Huss and Jerome of Prague **ere boldly denouncing** the evils that had crept into the **urch. When Sigismund** of Hungary was emperor **1410-1437), so great** had become the agitation that **e council of Constance** was evoked by Pope John **XIII., who was himself** deposed on account of **his normous vices.**[2] This is the period of the Hussite **ar and of the burning** of Huss (July 6th, 1415) and of **rome of Prague** (May 30, 1416). The Germans were **open rebellion** against the popes, and were rapidly ap- **aching** the great Reformation. Just at a time when the **astern Empire** was breathing its last, they were initia- **ng new movements** destined to set the Aryan world **laze.**

Just as new life and new energy arose from the bap- **sm of the Western Empire** with Teutonic blood, and **w nations** mounted into existence, we see the mighty **encies forming** in the old German land, destined to lift **ilized nations** into the blaze of modern enlightenment. **e fagots** that burned the reformer Huss, cast their rays light into the ends of the world. Illuminated by their

[1] **Frederick V.** of this house was raised to princely rank in 1363, **ther Frederick** was made Elector of Brandenburg in 1415, **and an- r Frederick** was made king of Prussia in 1701.

[2] **Hallam**: "Middle Ages," Vol. II. p. 39.

fading light, we catch sight of the mechanic, Gutenberg, fixing the last bolts and driving the last screws into the first of those great "educators of the people," the printing press. Nay, before the followers (1450) of Islam had entered the gates of New Rome, he had given the first press to the world. Then, too, we see the powers at work that were to call out just such rugged natures as those of Martin Luther and his heroic followers. Though these great changes were to cost the world many lives, and much wealth and suffering, we, of the nineteenth century, ought to be the last to say that they have been purchased at too high a price.

We must now trace the development of France from the triple division of Charlemagne's kingdom.[1] The kingdom that fell to Charles the Bald (843-877) barely occupied that portion of Gaul west of the fifth meridian east of Greenwich, and was called Karolingia. It was broken up into duchies, principalities, etc. The most powerful among its petty rulers was the duke of Frankia. While the Karlings still spoke German, these dukes and their subjects spoke a Latin dialect out of which has developed the modern French language. The reign of Charles the Bald is spoken of as a creditable one. He endeavored to follow the course that his grandfather, Charlemagne, had instituted. He was a patron of literature and education. He gathered scholars around his court The famous John the Scot[2] was invited from Ireland to preside over the Palace School established by Charlemagne. Charles made the possessions of his fiefs hereditary in certain families; and, from that time, the power of the Karlings was on the decrease, while that of his vassals grew—the dukes of France more than any others.

1 Above p. 362. 2 Johannes Scotus Erigena.

do, duke of France, was finally elected king by obles (866-898), but again the crown returned to arlings. During the next century, there was almost ual strife between the Karlings and the French . When the former wore the crown, the capital of ngdom was at Laon; when the latter ruled, it was is. During this time, the greatest event that hap- to France was the arrival of the Northmen, or ans. This new element in the history of Southern e made its appearance during the reign of Charle-, and led him to prophesy its future greatness.[1] came from the north lands and so were called men or Norsemen. Their ships sailed far and near; appearing suddenly upon some unprotected coast, plundered its inhabitants without constraint. So rere called vikings or "sea robbers." During three ies (800-1100), scarcely a foot of the North Atlan- urface was unknown to them, from Greenland to , from Vinland to the northern coast of Russia.

Were we to seek the origin of these hardy, daring, sailors, with their blue eyes and their blonde hair, uld have to visit the Baltic homeland of the Aryans. we but penetrate further into the pre-historic past, ght find these people sharing with the Germans the of ancestry of our own race. But as the Northmen ated to the north toward the frozen sea, we find shading off into Turanian—Finns and Lapps. They also called Scandinavians. By the time of Charle-, three kingdoms had arisen in these northern re- —Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The Western re, from Charlemagne's time down, had much fight- ith the Danes. The Swedes controlled the Baltic

[1] rwett: "Story of the Normans," p. 11.

basin, pushed to the east, and, in the tenth century, settled in Russia, laying the foundation of the modern Russian



The Vikings.

Empire. The Norwegians and Danes combined ravaged the coast of Europe from Flanders (Holland and Belgium)

o Asia Minor, completely terrorizing the inhabitants of France and Britain. That these Northmen were not lacking in culture is proved by that store-house of literature which they have left—the Eddas—composed as early as the eighth century, and preserved on the island of Iceland, cut off from all other influences.[1]

The visits of the vikings to the coast of France became more and more frequent. First they came on flying expeditions for plunder; next they built forts, which they occupied for several seasons in succession, and into which they could safely gather their stores; then at last, they came to settle and found homes for themselves, giving up their roaming lives. In 912, a large band of Northmen, under Rolf or Rollo, took possession of Rouen. In order to gain his friendship, king Charles the Simple (893-929) ceded to him a large province in Western France, which he was to hold in fief to the king, but on the condition that he was to be baptized and receive Christianity.[2] To seal the treaty, the king's natural daughter was married to Viking Rolf. Now that these Northmen had possessions in France, and had become vassals of the French king, they adopted the language, dress, and manners of the French. They became Normans and their chief, the duke of Normandy. They were ever ready, however, to assert their independence of kingly authority, claiming as many rights as their overlords.[3]

The Karlings were superseded by the French dukes,[4]

1 *Vide* Encyclopedia Britannica, article Edda, also Karl Blind: "Ethic Ideas of the Edda," University Magazine, April, 1878.

2 Freeman: "Norman Conquest," Oxford, 1873, Vol. I. p. 112.

3 Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 37, note 3.

4 Hallam claims that Hugh Capet's accession to the throne was an usurpation. "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 30-31.

when Hugh Capet was chosen king (987-996), and then modern France appears in history, for we have now a French people, governed by a French king, who spoke a French language, and the capital of the kingdom was Paris. The number of hereditary fiefs had increased from twenty-nine to fifty-five. However, a few of the great vassals occupied a greater portion of the kingdom and the remainder did homage to them. These greater vassals were six in number, as follows: the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; and the Dukes of Normandy Aquitaine, and Burgundy.[1] And now a feudal monarchy was fully established.[2]

For a long time before and after the accession of the Capets, France can be said to have no national history. The king of France was not powerful enough to compel obedience from his great vassals. Indeed they were nearly all equal in power; and, during the reigns of the first four Capets, they were too busy with quarrels among themselves to trouble the outside world very much. Every great vassal was lord over a number of barons, who, in turn, had their vassals.[3] Every chieftain was independent to rule his own subjects, and every great vassal had power to make treaties and alliances, to wage war and make conquests. Therefore, it is not surprising to find the dukes of Normandy, the most independent of all, continually at war with their neighbors, and even in open rebellion against their lord the king.[4]

[1] *Vide* Hallam Op. cit. p. 35, and compare with Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 88, who mentions the count of Vermandois instead of Toulouse, and adds the duke of Brittany.

[2] Feudalism will be treated in a following chapter.

[3] Hallam, Op. cit. p. 36.

[4] In treating of England we will see how the duke of Normand became king of England, and thus one of the vassals of the king of France became more powerful than his master.

From the time of Louis VI. (1081-1137) it became e open policy of the French kings to reduce the power their vassals, and especially that of the Norman dukes. ouis VI. and VII. spent their energies in building up e power of the towns to the detriment of the nobles. It as, however, a flourishing period for agriculture, com- erce, and internal improvement.[1] At last Philip (II.) ugustus (1180-1223) succeeded to the throne. He is presented as a cool, calculating, capable ruler—"a great ing but not a great man." He found Henry II. of Eng- nd still in possession (as duke of Normandy), of his reat dominions in France; and he began, at once, to lay lans for undermining the English king's power. The ntire military forces of England and Normandy were alled into activity to repel the encroachments of Philip. Henry II. and his successor Richard I. (Couer de Lion) ere able to hold their own against king Philip. In fact, Richard, Philip, and Frederick Barbarossa, had united eir forces for the third crusade. But John, Richard's rother and regent, was unable to maintain his rights against e French king. When Richard died, young prince Ar- ur was murdered (perhaps by John his uncle), and John came king of England (1199-1216.) Philip immediately nmoned him, as vassal duke of Normandy, to appear at court of France in answer to the charge of murdering thur, who was the choice of the Norman nobles for the ant throne. John refused to come, and Philip, declar- his continental possessions forfeited, poured his armies Normandy, and wrested all except Aquitaine, Gas- y, and the Norman islands from England.[2] Philip be- also the crusade, or "Albigensian war," against the

1 "Medieval History," p. 146-7.
2 "Historical Geography," p. 333-4.

Manichæans in and around Toulouse. The result of t struggle was the annexation, during the thirteenth c tury, of a number of provinces—Beziers, Narbonne, Nir Albi, Toulouse—which form the valuable province of L guedoc.[1]

Louis the Pious, or St. Louis (1227-1270), "was p haps the best king that ever reigned, unless it were own (English) Aelfred."[2] Louis conquered his enemie arbitration and by just and faultless action. His vas came to look upon him as their judge and legisla rather than their master. His yoke sat so lightly u their shoulders that they perceived not the "transitio the French constitution from a feudal league to an abso monarchy."[3] By his virtue, justice, and moderation raised the power and influence of his kingdom to a m higher level than his more war-like and ambitious decessors. Thus, during his reign of nearly half a cent we see France, under the smile of the goddess of pe making enormous strides in culture and internal prosper All the feudaries were inspired with confidence in t monarch. France "had havens on the three seas, Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Channel." She prosperous and growing, while Germany was strugg with her Italian dependencies, or was at the mercy of "robber knights."

About this time, Paris reached her highest fame seat of learning. Her university attracted such men as ger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas. L advocated the highest education for theologians, who should dispute with unbelievers. If a layman "hea man to be an unbeliever, he should not dispute

[1] Ibid. 335. [2] "Historical Course," p. 182.
[3] Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. I. p. 43.

him, he should at once run his sword into his entrails, and drive it up to the hilt." His zeal and bigotry were the cause of his dying outside of his kingdom. He organized and led the last two crusades, dying before Tunis while besieging that city. He had heard that its ruler were longing for Christianity, and he was carrying it to him according to the manner of his age.[1]

Philip the Fair (1285-1314) added Navarre to his kingdom by marriage with the heiress, Joanna. Finally (1312) Lyons was annexed. For openly defying the pope (Boniface VIII.) for usurpation of power belonging to the temporal ruler, he was placed under the ban of excommunication. Pope Clement V. was more lenient with him, for he sought, by alliance with France, protection from the Emperor. The papal chair was removed to Avignon where it remained for seventy years, known as the "Great Captivity." This is recorded as a great victory for prince over pope. The house of the Capets passed away with the death of Charles IV. (1328). Philip of Valois succeeded to the throne in 1350. The rivalry between the French king, and the Norman duke (or English king), was the cause of much quarreling between France and England during all this time. Edward III. of England urged his claim to the crown of France as the son of Philip the Fair's daughter Isabel. And thus began the "Hundred Years War" (1337-1453), which was carried on, with short intervals of peace, during a succession of five English and five French sovereigns. During a portion of the time, the English were supported by the emperors, and the French by the Bohemian kings. For many years, the English were conquerors, and boasted of great victories at Crecy (1346), Calais (1347), and Poiters

[1] Ibid. p. 52.

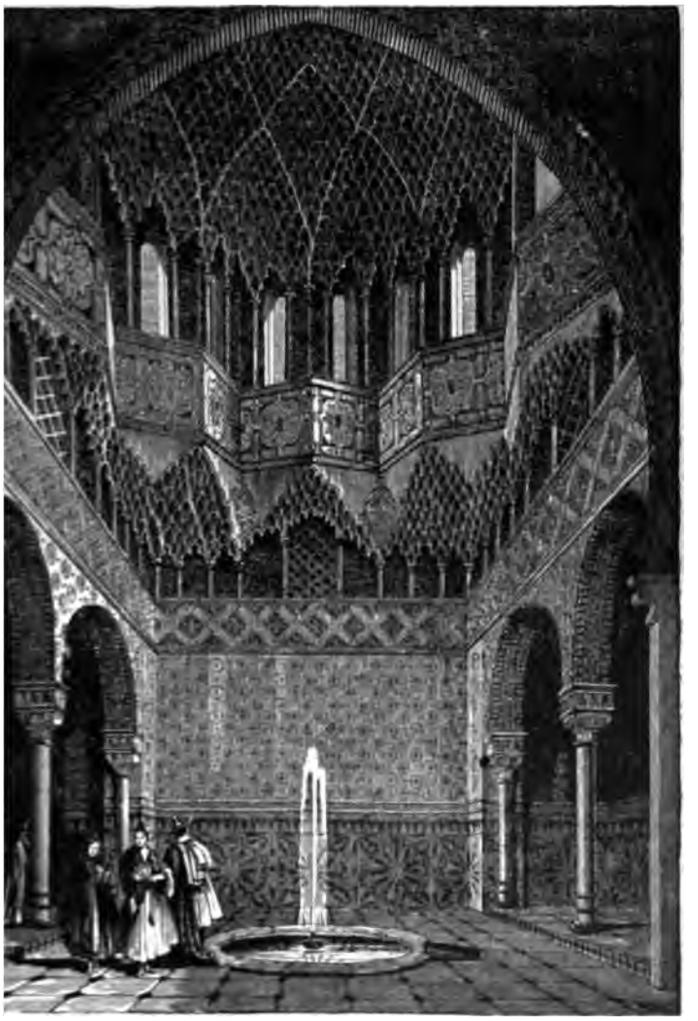
(1356), from which field the French king John was carried a prisoner to England.

Fortune continued to smile upon the English during the next century, for they won the battle of Agincourt (1415), and captured Rouen (1419). Finally, to close this eventful period, that strange personage, professing divine guidance, came to the aid of the frightened king, Charles VII. (1422-1461). When France had lost almost everything; when Paris was occupied by the English; when the English king, Henry VI., had been crowned king of France at Paris (1431); when all France was discouraged, a peasant maid, Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans, appeared at the head of the disorganized French army, and, in two short years, succeeded in so turning the tide of affairs that English power in France was completely crushed.[1] The war dragged on for twenty years longer, however, though there was not much fighting.

The internal history of France during this whole period is, as we could expect, only a story of confusion, misery, and ruin. When King John was taken captive to London, there was no political head to the kingdom; and an attempt was made to organize a "popular and constitutional government". This led to a peasant war (the Jacquerie), under a leader named Caillet (nicknamed Jacques Bonhomme). Later (1413) another popular insurrection was instituted by one Caboche. Both were miserable failures and cost the lives of many peasants. They were only the harbingers of that greater uprising of a later time—the French Revolution. The medieval period closes with the French kings masters of nearly all of modern France, and stronger than at any previous time.

1 For extented history of Joan of Arc, *Vide* Guizot: "History of France," Vol. III. p. 90. *et seq.*

he Western Mohammedan Caliphate[1] came to an end by breaking up into a number of small Saracenic



Hall in the Alhambra. [Spain.]

. The Gothic chieftains, who still retained their independence in their mountain homes, now found them-

[1] above page 350.

selves able to take the offensive against these small powers where they could accomplish nothing against a united Mohammedan power. So they began to reclaim some territory from the sway of unbelievers. The kingdoms of Leon and Castile became united (1084), and their king, Alfonso VI., was the most powerful ruler in Spain, reclaiming even the ancient capital, Toledo, to the Christians. The power of Aragon also arose, so that Castile and Aragon were the principal states of the Spanish peninsula. As we have seen, the house of Aragon became rulers in Sicily (1282), and finally (1464) they ruled the "Two Sicilies and Sardinia."

In time (1474), the crown of Castile was placed upon the head of Princess Isabella; and, soon (1479), her husband, Prince Ferdinand, was crowned king of Aragon. These are the famous Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. They soon began a war of extermination against the unbelievers. The Jews were expelled from Spain. The famous stronghold of the Moors (Saracens), the storied Granada,[1] was taken (1491), and the inhabitants were driven out of the country. Though they were married, Fredinand and Isabella ruled their respective kingdoms as separate monarchs. Upon the death of Isabella (1504), the crown of Castile fell to their daughter, Joanna, wife of Philip, a Hapsburg prince. Ferdinand soon supplanted her on the grounds of her incapacity. By giving another of his daughters in marriage to the king of Portugal and by the annexation of Navarre (1512), all the kingdoms of the peninsula became subject to one ruler.

Now Philip, the husband of Joanna, was son of Mary, duchess of Flanders, and of Maximillian, Emperor of Germany and a prince of the famous Hapsburg house. Char

[1] *Vide* "Conquest of Granada," by Washington Irving.

the son of Philip and Joanna, then was duke of Flan-
s (The Netherlands), Duke of Burgundy, Archduke
Austria, King of Spain (1516), King of the Two Sici-
, Lord of the Spanish possessions in America and Africa;
less than three years more (1519) were to see him
ised to the greatest dignity in the world as Emperor of
many."[1] Charles I. of Spain became Emperor Charles V.
in soon became an absolute monarchy, and was ruled
h severity. Charles was continually at war with Francis



Charles V.

France. We can see how the interests of the two sover-
s would conflict when we perceive how their posses-
s lay. Those of Charles extended from Spain through
, Austria, Burgundy, Germany, and the Nether-
s, thus surrounding France on three sides. But
rles abdicated his throne in 1556—the Spanish (in-
ing the Netherlands) throne in favor of his son
ip II. (1556-1598) and that of the empire in favor
s son Ferdinand (1556-1564). Philip was a Catholic,
his cruel bigotry led him to adopt such refined meth-

[1] Patton: "Modern History," p 78. *Vide* also Young: "History of etherlands," p. 40.

ods of torture and such inhuman modes of execution of heretics, that, had he been a pagan, history would have remembered him only as a bloodthirsty tyrant. We shall hear of him again in connection with the Netherlands.

The small kingdom of Portugal assumed its present shape and size during the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. By marriage of king Emanuel and the daughters (two in succession, the first dying) of Ferdinand and Isabella, the kingdom became really united to Spain. Then again for a brief moment (1581-1652), she became an actual part of Spain, but finally gained her independence. Her importance is confined almost wholly to her commercial enterprises and extensive discoveries, so her history belongs more properly to our chapter on the Age of Discovery, where it will be fully treated.

We have now briefly outlined the formation of modern nations from two of the three divisions of Charlemagne's kingdom. Let us now turn our attention to the third division, Lothairingia, lying between France and Germany and stretching from Central Italy to the German Ocean. This central strip of land was occupied by a large number of semi-independent princes and dukes, who made themselves vassals of now one king and now another, as it suited their interests, or as they were forced to yield to conquest. Now these central duchies and kingdoms were in their palmy days no insignificant powers. The dukes of Savoy, though they may not be said to hold one foot of the old Savoyard dominions, have made themselves kings of a united Italy. The kingdom of Burgundy occupied a sort of middle position between France and Germany, which Switzerland has inherited.[1] Holland and Belgium have risen from the Spanish possessions of the

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 146.

herlands into independent powers, and each has a his- of its own.

While the emperors of Germany were busy with r Italian affairs, the princes of their German kingdom e left a great deal to themselves, and were often ged to unite themselves into leagues for mutual pro- ion. There were a number of such leagues in the rteenth century. Such was the league of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, that asserted its independence (1291) began to extend its power, growing into the greater iss Confederation. Luzern (1332), Zurich (1351), Gla- and Zug (1352), and Bern (1353) were added in suc- sion, comprising the eight ancient cantons. A century internal peace and prosperity followed. The power of confederation was extended in various directions ugh no new cantons were admitted. Then there was ther season of growth, Freiburg and Solothurn (1481), el and Schaffhausen (1501),and Appenzell (1513),were nitted to form the later confederacy of Thirteen Can- s. By conquests and alliances, the power of this con- eracy was extended across the Alps into Italy. Thus emained until the wars of the French Republic, when "federal system was abolished," and there arose what been called the Helvetic Republic.

That portion of old Lotharingia bordering the Ger- n Ocean had little to attract the immigrant. The soil s poor and a portion of the country had been reclaimed m the sea by means of dykes and windmills Still s part of Europe had become the homes of wealthy erchant princes." The southern part was the site of the ious Flemish manufactories whose proprietors consumed wool of England and other parts of Europe. And we ll see how the ships of Holland were foremost in ex-

tending commerce to newly found portions of the world. We have seen how, in the fifteenth century, the Netherlands passed under the control of the dukes of Burgundy; and, finally, to king Philip II. of Spain (1556). Thus we are brought down to the later half of the sixteenth century before the real history of the Netherlands begins.

Philip seems to have been determined, under the cloak of zeal for the Catholic church, to exterminate the population of the Netherlands. His cruel persecutions under the Duke of Alva led to a revolt under William of Orange, called also the Silent.[1] The Duke of Alva with his famous "Council of Blood," was tireless in his endeavors to invent excuses for arresting both peasants and nobles who had offended him or who had money. Arrest meant speedy execution, by the most refined and horrible modes of torture, and often without the form of a trial. The Inquisition was active in prying into men's private lives, and on the least suspicion condemning them to some new torturing, lingering death. The Duke of Alva is said to have ordered more than eighteen thousand executions while governing the Netherlands.[2] After every manner of defeat and discouragement, William the Silent succeeded in establishing the independence (1578) of the seven northern provinces,[3] which form the commonwealth of the Seven United Provinces. William, however, was, after many attempts, assassinated, (1584) by the secret order of king Philip.[4]

That portion of the Netherlands, that now forms

[1] *Vide* Motley: "Rise of the Dutch Republic," New York, 1856, Vol. I. p. 245 *et seq.*

[2] Young: "History of the Netherlands," p. 165.

[3] These were Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overessel, Friesland, Grounigen, "Historical Geography," p. 299.

[4] Motley: "History of the United Netherlands," New York, 1861, Vol. I. p. 1.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

kingdom of Belgium, remained under Spanish le for some years longer. It then (1595) passed to Duke of Austria. It was composed of a number



Duke of Alva at Brussels.

states, such as Flanders, Brabant, Artois, Hainault, . As it remained disputed territory for a long time, rts of it were continually changing their vassalage

from one power to another, subject to French, Dutch, German, or Spanish authority. Finally, in the settling of Europe, after the troublous times of Napoleon, the jealousy of these greater powers led to the formation of the kingdom of Belgium. It is fitting here to notice that the existence of these three lesser powers in the midst of so many greater is due, not so much to their spirit of independence and their military prowess, as to their middle position among their greater neighbors. The jealousy of one another's power, that exists among the great nations of Europe, is a sufficient safeguard to the independence of these three nations.

We must now turn our attention to that portion of Europe, lying outside of Charlemagne's kingdom, which was but a part of the Roman empire. Russia has, in historical times, been pre-eminently the home of the Slave. But, as we have seen, the great waves of Turanians, who have, in our era, spread over the steppes of Russia on their way toward the West, must have in places, almost annihilated every trace of Aryan occupation. "Iran and Turan have ever been at feud; they could not dwell on the same soil in peace,"[1] so we find the Slaves and Mongols continually at war. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose, as Rambaud suggests[2] that the Northmen (Swedes) came upon invitation (862) as allies of the Slaves against the Mongols.[3] Rurik and his followers came, and seem to have had no trouble in conquering and ruling the Slaves. (They were also called Varangians). They made their headquarters at Novgorod and Kief, and increased so rapidly in power that we find them, very early in the tenth

1 Quatrefages: "The Prussian Race," p. 34.
2 "History of Russia," London, 1879.
3 Above page 382.

ntury, besieging Constantinople (907 and 943). In the eventh and twelfth centuries, three Rurikan princes lled a territory seven hundred miles from north to south nd six hundred miles from east to west.[1]

Like all Europe at this time, Russia was occupied by many independent princes, who became vassals, of all



Entry of Ivan into Kazan.

-ples of dependency, to the Rurikans. Chief among them re the princes of Vladimir, Kief, and Novgorod, which re-sp-d respectively to Great, Little, and White Rus- [illegible] ir own times.[2] Under Vladimir (972-1015) the

[1] [illegible] and Latin [illegible]

[2] Medieval History, [illegible]

fifth prince of the house of Rurik, the Russians accepted Christianity from the Eastern Church, and have ever since held to its doctrines. In the thirteenth century, Russia was governed by a number of princes who failed to rule in harmony; and when the Mongols came, they were easily conquered (1223). Russia remained under Mongol rule for two and one half centuries.[1] Still many of the western princes became subject to Lithuanian and Polish rule.[2]

Some of the Rurikan princes, through all this time held possessions as vassals to the Mongol Khans. Such was the prince of Moscow, who seems to have been a trusted subject of the khan. Around his standard, gathered many of the Aryans of Russia; and, at last, under Ivan the Great (1462-1505), they threw off the Mongol yoke and gained their independence. These new ruling people were called Muscovites, they were probably greatly Tyranized by intermixture while subject to the Mongols as well as by mingling with the subject Finns. Ivan allied himself, by marriage, with the royal house of the fallen emperor at Constantinople. He really laid the foundation of modern Russia. He increased his possessions in all directions; and, receiving embassadors from other European powers, he opened Russia to western civilization.

Ivan III. first bore the name of Czar.[4] Ivan IV. (the Terrible 1533-1584) continued to build up his empire. By the annexation of Astrakan, at the mouth of the Volga

[1] "Historical Geography," p. 483. Abel makes this period two centuries. "Slavic and Latin," p. 13.

[2] *Vide* Rambaud: "History of Russia," Vol. I. p. 183 *et seq.*

[3] In later times under Elizabeth [1741-1762], a scholar who dared argue that the Muscovites were of Finnish origin received one hundred stripes with the knout. Under Catharine II. [1762-1796], the subject was again raised, when the Czarina "issued a Ukase commanding Muscovites to be Europeans. Abel: "Slavic and Latin," p. 17.

[4] Probably Caesar, for he was the only person who claims succession to the Eastern Emperors. Rambaud: History of Russia," Vol. I. p. 2

ined seaboard on the Caspian. About this time, En- vessels had found their way to the White Sea along orthern shore of Europe. The seamen visited Mos- and their kind reception led to commercial relations en the two countries.[1] Ivan gave Russia a valuable of laws and likewise improved the condition of his cts. In the later years of his reign, he became in- d in wars with Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; and bliged to seek the assistance of Pope Gregory XIII. der to save himself.

Feodor I. (1584-1598), the last of the Rurikans, added ia to his dominions. Then there followed a time of hy and misrule for Russia

Peter the Great (1682-), of the Romanoff line of es, came the throne. Peter more than reclaim Russia r former state, for he raised o a place among the powers urope. He extended his nions until he could boast oard on four seas—White ic, Black, and Caspian. St. rsburg was founded and the capital. By study, travel, and intercourse with nations, new ideas and improvements were introduced into all departments of the government and into all of industry. Catherine II. (1762-1796) was a patron erature, science, and education and her reign was a of great internal improvement for Russia.[2]



Peter the Great.

[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 138.
[2] *Vide* Rambaud: "History of Russia," Vol. II., for a full account of the reign of Peter and Catherine.

But in early times there was a broad belt of territory, or middle land, stretching from the Baltic sea southward to the Turkish dominions, between Germany on the west, and Russia on the east. Here were the states of Lithuania, Poland, Bohemia, and a number of others of less importance. They were occupied by a mixed population of Germans, Slaves, and Turanians. But it is safe to say, that they all now differ little from other Aryan people. The Magyars of Hungary are the only ones that have kept a Turanian dialect.[1] All of these states were factors in the settling of Europe into its modern political divisions. But their individuality has long since passed away, and we can give the parts that each played in the history of Europe only a passing notice.

In the ninth century, when the Magyars of Hungary were so troublesome to the empire, there was established a number of outposts (marks) as defences against their invasions. Among these was the Eastern Mark (Oesterreich) almost between Bohemia and Hungary. Thus was planted the germ from which modern Austria has grown. By a series of marriages, successions, elections, and conquests, the Hapsburg[2] dukes of Austria became sovereigns of Bohemia, Hungary, and a number of smaller principalities, of various Aryan and Turanian populations, which were finally united into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. There was much shifting about before Austria assumed its present form. We have seen that the Hapsburg princes were usually emperors. We have noticed that Charles I. of Spain was Archduke of Austria and emperor Charles V. So we would find, were we to trace the history of Austria down to modern times, that, in the treaty of

[1] Keane in Ramsey's "Europe," p. 554 *et seq.*.
[2] Above p. 375.

burg (1805), Francis of Austria is styled "Emperor rmany and Austria."

Poland was one of the greatest European states of the teenth century. Previous to this, for a moment only, id had become an Angevin possession by the election



Death of Louis II. of Hungary

enry of Anjou as king. Poland and Lithuania accepted faith of the Latin Church (Catholic). When the ds were rulers of Russia, these countries were the pi es of Christianity against the invaders. The general and king, Sobieski (1674-1697), at this time, himself immortal by hurling back the Turks who

were advancing on Europe.[1] When the Muscovites ca into power in Russia, Poland was the fighting ground tween the Latin and Greek churches. Russia, Prus and Austria, becoming jealous of Polish power, resol upon her destruction. The gallant defence, which Pol made against its enemies, gained the admiration of world, and the name of Kosciu will never be forgotten.



John Sobieski.

In the Baltic region, composed two great peninsulas and numer islands, were forming, as we h seen, the three kingdoms of Sca navia; Denmark, Norway, and S den. In the tenth century, kingdom of Denmark included greater part of the northern peninsula, as well as southern. Under Cnut (1017-1035), a momentary pire of the northwest was formed, embracing also British Isles. In the fourteenth century, Denmark wa frequent wars with the great Hanseatic League. By "Union of Calmar" (1397), Norway, Sweden, and D mark were united under queen Margaret.

This union lasted, in the case of Sweden, u 1523, when Gustavus Vasa broke the yoke of D mark. Norway remained a part of Denmark for th centuries longer (1814). The latter part of the sixte and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries wa period of growth and prosperity for Denmark. This under Frederick II. (1559-1588) and Christian IV. (1 1648). They were patrons of literature, science, and It was in their time that the great Tycho Brahe (1 1601) flourished.

[1] Above page 361.

Sweden was ruled by Gustavus Vasa until 1560. he latter part of that century was filled with wars with oland and Russia. Gustavus Adolphus then came to ie throne (1611-1632); and, as we reach the modern eriod of history, we can see him leading a Protestant rmy from victory to victory in the heart of Europe; nd, finally, to his own death on the field of battle. As ie period of Medieval history closes on the continent, we e the whole country convulsed with religious wars. The berty gained by so much bloodshed nourished the growth f the enlightenment of our own time.



Gustavus Vasa.

We have now only to ive an outline of English istory, the country that ad so much to do with our wn early history. We have lready[1] seen the commence- nent of this history. We ill resume the thread with ing Egbert, a West Saxon rince, who had resided at ie court of Charlemagne, id who could boast of de- ent from the great Cedric. e ascended the Wessex rone (802-847). Filled ith that ambition and spirit of conquest that must have rvaded the court of Charlemagne, Egbert planned the nquest of the whole island. Mercia and Northumbria ll before his power (829), and Egbert styled himself King of England."[2] He was not master of the whole land, however. Scotland and some portions of the

[1] Above p. 342. [2] "Medieval History," p. 60.

Western Celtic territory were never conquered by Egbert. Already the Danes had begun to plunder the coasts of these islands, and his armies were needed to guard against their attacks. His successors (837-881) inherited this conflict with Danish vikings. The Norsemen now began to form settlements, although they were merely headquarters or camps, where their marauding bands could store their plunder.

When Aelfred the Great, grandson of Egbert, came to the throne (871-901), nearly the whole island had been lost to the English. From the very commencement of his reign, he engaged in war with the Norsemen. He became so reduced in power and resources that he had no followers, and was obliged to hide himself in the marshy lands of Somersetshire. There he built himself a stronghold and secretly organized an army, with which, during the next seven years, he won many battles against the Danes. Finally they entered into treaty with him, by the terms of which the Danish chieftain, Guthrian, was permitted to occupy all of England north of Watling street, or the road running from London to Chester, as vassal to the English king, on condition, however, that he should embrace Christianity. Aelfred, therefore, was real ruler over only the southern portion of England.[1]



Aelfred.

[1] "The Norman Conquest," Vol. I. p. 34.

The reign of Aelfred, after the conquest of the Danes, was a season of peace and prosperity for England. Ranke[1] calls him "a marvelous phenomenon," not merely a king and a great general, but a wise legislator and the foremost author of his times. He organized his government. He adopted a system of defenses by which he was able to protect his kingdom from all foes. He built and maintained a navy which was serviceable alike for war, for commerce, and for discovery. Thus was laid the foun-



Aelfred's Mother Teaching Him Saxon Songs.

dation of the naval power that has kept England among the foremost nations of the world. He made the accumulated customs, practices, and usages of his Teutonic forefathers the common law of the land.

The aim of Aelfred's legislation seems to have been the elevation and happiness of his subjects. He tried in every way to introduce advanced ideas in learning and culture. Not satisfied in simply inviting foreign scholars

1 "A History of England," Oxford, 1875, Vol. I. p. 19.

to his court, he placed himself in their front and even surpassed them all in the amount and character of his literary work. A large number of volumes that had previously been written only in Latin were translated into English by the king himself. Thus English was made the popular literary language. Now Aelfred is not to be compared with other literary kings, who, in general, rank very poorly as writers. He wrote just as he fought and legislated, "with a single eye to the good of his people." "The culture already existing, the whole future of which had been saved by Aelfred, attained in him the fullest development. We weaken the impression made on us by this great figure by comparing him with the brilliant names of antiquity."[1]

The descendants of Aelfred, "for nearly a century, form one of the most brilliant royal lines on record." All the Teutonic elements—English and Danish—were at last drawn into one kingdom. Then the chieftains and princes of the Welsh and Scots became vassals to the English king (924), who was often styled Emperor or Basileus of Britain. Under Eadgar (959-975), the royal house of Aelfred and Saxon England reached the summit of its power. This king is called "the peaceful," though never before were vaster military preparations made. A standing army was organized. A naval-fleet was kept in readiness for action and constantly encircling his domains, in order to guard against attack by sea. Eight of his vassal kings met at one time and place to do him homage. It was, therefore, a time of peace and prosperity for England, during which no foe dared to approach her borders.

Succeeding kings were not as careful as Eadgar about their defences; and the Danes, who had now effected a lodg-

[1] Ranke, Op. cit. p. 20.

it in Normandy, again plundered the coasts of the tish Isles. Aethelred, the Unready, and his son Edmd Ironsides (979-1016) were so hard pressed by them t they were obliged, season after season, to buy off the aders. An annual and ever increasing tax was levied furnish the crown with this "Danegeld" instead of to



Aelfred the Great in his Study.

ce the kingdom in a state of defence. Finally, on St ice's Day, 1002 A. D., the king ordered a general massa- of the Danish freebooters, who had by treaty been mised protection in his realms. This only hastened final conquest of England by the Norsemen.

Another element appeared in England during Aethel- s reign, which continued to grow in power and impor-

tance, until it ruled the whole island. His queen, Emma, was a Norman lady. Her appearance at the court of England opened the gates of the government to a host of Norman adventurers, who flocked around her, and received many profitable offices at her hands. The Danish king, Swegen, soon appeared to revenge the murdered Danes. To the weakness of the English king, were added the distrust and disloyalty of his noblemen and his generals (many of them Norman favorites of Emma) and a lack of zeal on the part of his subjects. So, in spite of the almost superhuman efforts of Edmund Ironsides, the Danes were successful, and Britain was added to the great Empire of the Northwest; and Cnut, the Dane, son of Swegen, was crowned king of England (1017-1035.)

Cnut dwelt at London, and married the widowed queen Emma, thus reconciling himself to many of his subjects. "Cnut had entered England as a conqueror and a destroyer; but his reign, as far as the internal state of England is concerned, was a time of perfect peace. No invasion from beyond the sea, no revolt, no civil war, is recorded during the eighteen years of his government..... Within England itself we read of no district being ravaged either by rebels or by royal command, we read of no city undergoing, or being threatened with, military chastisement. This is more than can be said of either the reign of Eadgar the Peaceful or of Eadward the Saint."[1] Here we have another instance of a wild "barbarous viking" from "pagan lands," who made one of the best kings that history mentions and that, too, in the middle of the "Dark Ages".

Still, the successors of Cnut were failures as kings, and the banished son of Aethelred and Emma, Eadward

[1] "Norman Conquest," Vol. p. 296-7.

onfessor, or Saint, was hailed with joy then he came from Normandy to occupy the English throne -1065). He was a grandson of Robert the Fearless, of Normandy, and had been educated at the Norman ; so, it is not surprising, that many Norman adven-



Cnut the Great and his Courtiers.

followed him across the channel, and that they re- good offices and large possessions for their homage iendship. Meanwhile, there had arisen an English- rom humble birth to the first position in England. vas Earl Godwine. As Eadward was better suited monastery than to the throne, Godwine, became

virtual ruler of the kingdom. Though never himself a king he "was the maker, the kinsman, the father of kings."

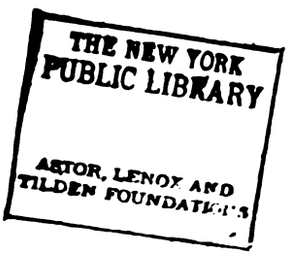
Next to Godwine, his son Harold, was the first man in all England. He already ruled as vassal earl over the East Angles; and, upon the death of Godwine, he became earl of the West-Saxons, which, as Freeman[1] says, was "equivalent to investing him with the practical management of the King and his Kingdom." When Eadward, the last of the line of Cedric, died, Harold was the choice of the people as king; he had also been named by Eadward, upon his death-bed, as his successor; and finally he was the choice of the Witan (or English council) who alone claimed the right of electing a king. He was crowned 1066.

We now have arrived at the Norman conquest. William,[2] duke of Normandy, claimed the right to succeed Eadward on three grounds—the promise of Eadward, the promise of Harold, and the right as a descendant of Aelfred through the female line. As to these claims, William had visited Eadward, and may have been at that time promised the succession, but there is no doubt that Harold was the final choice of the dying monarch. As to the second claim, Harold had, upon a time, been shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, where he was held a prisoner until he had sworn that he would not accept the English crown. The third claim savors so much of the legendary that it is usually pronounced fictitious.[3]

William landed in England at the head of a vast army of Norman knights; and, armed with a papal curse

1 Freeman, Op. cit. p. 236. 2 Above page 384.

3 The work of some unreliable Chronicler who wished to make all English kings of English birth. On this point *Vide* "Norman Conquest," Vol. II. p. 116.


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t those who dared support Harold, as well as with ord, he demanded the crown from Harold. The of Hastings followed (October 14th, 1066), in which l was killed. William was then crowned King of nd. From this time the f England held posses- n France as vassal of ench king, which led to s wars between the two s.



William the Conqueror.

man knights now be- the English court for tments and possessions. btained both, even if a English subject had to bbed to accommodate The policy of the new emed to be to crush out the English. Norman customs nguage were introduced and forced upon the peo- om the rulers had made little better than slaves. m was now the "Conqueror," and he seemed to have ed that title in every sense of the word. When m had succeeded in thoroughly subduing England, rned to Normandy, where he died (1087) from an tal injury received while urging his soldiers to r and burn the city of Mantes, in order to satisfy old grudge. His second son, William Rufus (the was his successor (1087-1100), although there was quarreling over the throne among his three sons— , William, and Henry. By the treaty of Winches- 01), Henry, the youngest, became king (1101-1135) exclusion of Robert, the oldest.[1] Henry could trace

[1] rgate: "England under the Angevin Kings," London, 1887, Vol. I.

his lineage back to the good King Aelfred through his mothe
Matilda of Flanders.[1] He united himself with Scotland b
marriage with Matilda, daughter of Queen Margaret,[2] so tha
his descendants could trace lineage back to Aelfred by tw
descents.[3] Henry's daughter, Matilda, became the wife o



Burial of William the Conqueror.

Emperor Henry V., and, after his death, of Geoffrey
count of Anjou, thus becoming the mother of the Ange
vin, or Plantagenet kings of England. We perceiv

[1] Lineal descendant of Aelfthryth, daughter of Aelfred and wife
Count Baldwin.

[2] Who was grand daughter of Edward Ironsides."

[3] "Norman Conquest," Vol. II. p. 200. note.

nce the politic plans that Henry pursued in uniting iself with as many of the contemporary powers as he ld. He was no less politic in his government, though st of his plans for reform died away in promises to bles and subjects. These broken promises, however, d the effect of so arousing the people that future kings re compelled to make many concessions to them.

When Henry died, the Witan elected his nephew, phen (1135-1154), to the exclusion of his natural son, bert, earl of Gloucester. The nineteen years of Ste-n's reign are called a "time of utter anarchy" and a me of utter wretchedness, such as we may safely say gland never saw before and never saw again."[1] It was eason of strife between Stephen and Matilda about the ht of succession of her offspring. At last to settle the tter, Stephen adopted Henry (Plantagenet), son of tilda, as his son and successor.

Henry II. (1154-1189), the first of the Angevin ngs, inherited greater possessions than any of his pred-ssors. He was heir to England, Scotland, Normandy, njou, Maine, and Aquitaine. Thus, as vassal of the nch king, he held greater possessions in France than l that monarch. The next year (1154), he obtained a bull ulla) from Pope Hadrian IV. giving him permission to nquer and possess Ireland, as prompted by his "ardour of th and love of religion,"[2] though Ireland was the cradle Western Christianity.[3] We see, therefore, that England only a small part of the possessions of her kings.

[1] "Norman Conquest," Vol. V. p. 161.

[2] Lawler: "Story of Ireland," New York, 1887, p. 81-91.

[3] "One hundred and fifty-five Irish saints are venerated in the rches of Germany; forty-five in Gaul; thirty in Belgium; thirteen in ; and eight in Scandinavia. For a long time all Christendom looked Ireland as the favorite home of religion and wisdom. Justin Mc-y: "An Outline of Irish History," Baltimore, 1883, p. 23.

Henry is remembered as "the law-giver," for during his reign not only many useful and wholesome laws were enacted but the well known legal system of England took



Death of Becket.

its shape.[1] His ablest counselor was Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury as well as King's Chancellor,

[1] "Medieval History," p. 161.

whose murder, by order of Henry, has left an ineffacable blot upon that king's name. The first years of Henry's reign brought peace and order to England; the last years, however, marked a succession of quarrels between Henry, his wife, and his heirs.

Richard the Lion Hearted (1189-1199) was a great crusader, joining his forces with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Philip Augustus of France. He spent the most of his time out of his kingdom. John (1199-1216), through his quarrels with Philip of France, lost almost his entire possessions across the channel.[1] But to English people the one event, important above all others of John's reign, was the granting of the Magna Charta, which the united barons compelled the king to sign (1215).[2] Several of the last kings had been obliged to grant new and greater privileges to their subjects and especially their old English thanes (nobles). The granting of the charter was the culmination of their demands. It assured to Englishmen their most cherished rights, among which were freedom, justice, good government, security of property, and freedom against unjust taxation. Though the mortification of John was great, and though he swore terrible vengeance against his barons, the great charter has lived and gained new strength and greater privileges from succeeding kings. Every king thereafter was made to confirm it upon receiving the crown; but nearly all were ready to break it when once firmly seated upon the throne.

The Witan about this time began to shape itself into

[1] *Vide* "England under the Angevin Kings," Vol. II. p. 38 *et seq*

[2] The *Barons* of this age were only the old English thanes under a new name and a baron's war of the time of Henry III. "meant a war which the people, with native barons in their forefront, waged against a foreign-hearted king" *Vide* "Norman Conquest," Vol. V. p. 264 and 277.

the modern Parliament. Its power grew as freedom was granted to the English people. It refused to raise money for the foreign wars of Henry III. (1216-1273). The Commons were then admitted to Parliament. During the reign of Edward I. (1273-1307), the "English Justinian," many new laws and reforms in existing statutes were enacted, not the least among which was a law forbidding the levying of taxes without the consent of Parliament. Wales was annexed to England, but the Scots, under Wallace, rose in open rebellion, (1297) which was continued under Robert Bruce.[1]



John.

His armies gained a victory over the English at Bannockburn (1314), and at last captured Berwick (1318).

Parliament had now gained sufficient power to depose King Edward II. (1327), for incapacity, for breach of coronation oaths, and for loss of Scotland, electing Edward III. to the throne (1327-1357). But the tide of Scottish war did not turn with the coronation of a new king. The independence of Scotland was finally acknowledged with Robert Bruce as king. Henceforth Scotland was, for some centuries, a separate European power; though, for a moment, young David Bruce was driven from the throne by John Balliol, at the head of the English barons.

We have reached the period of the "hundred years war" between England and France. We have already

[1] Greene: "History of the English people," New York, 1880, Vol. I. p. 271 *et seq.*

how successful England was until the last years of war. That need not be repeated. But during this e, England was filled with clamors of the barons and people for greater privileges and greater personal and itical freedom. The spirit of religious freedom, too,



John Swearing Vengeance against his Barons.

awakened. The great Wycliffe (1324-1384) was at height of his fame. He preached his doctrines and ad his tracts over all England, and laid the foundation he great Reformation of the next century.[2] Then fol-

Above p. 387 *et seq.*
Vide This Series Vol. IV.

lowed the popular outbreaks under Wat Tyler, and bloody scenes that resulted, the promises and bre promises of young Richard II. (1387-1399), the risin the Lollards (a term applied to Wycliffites) and their secution as heretics; all of which are more or less con ted with the religious history of that time, and will treated in the proper place.

With Henry IV. (1399-1413), the house of Lanca began to reign. Henry V. (1413-1422) made "him lord of the two great western kingdoms," England France, and was closely related to the royal lines of I tugal and Castile.[1] Henry VI. (1422-1461), however, the English ignominiously expelled from France. Th was a strife at this time between the houses of York Lancaster over the right to the crown of the kingd The Yorkists claimed it as descendants of the fifth so Edward III. while the reigning house was descend through the fourth son, from the same monarch. T Yorkists wore a white rose as a badge and the Lancast a red rose, the quarrel has since been called the "war the roses." The white rose succeeded in deposing He VI.; then three white roses—Edward IV. (1461-14 Edward V. (1483, three months), and Richard III. (14 1485)—wore the crown in succession. The Lancast again came into power with Henry VII. (1485-1509); forever healed the strife between the two houses by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. W their son, Henry VIII. (1509-1547), came to the thr there was none to dispute his title, for he represented l houses.[2]

This strife seems to have been instrumental in

[1] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 546.
[2] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 86.

oying feudalism in England by exterminating the no-
ity, and it also left the crown with greater powers than
had previously enjoyed.[1] Indeed the war seems to have
en confined to the nobility, and disturbed the population
t little. Commerce was maintained all through this
riod. Henry VII. was the patron of the Cabots, of
ose voyages to America we shall hear again. Litera-
re and education flourished, while printing was intro-
ced by John Caxton (1476). Scotland was, during this
ne, governed by the Stuarts, the ablest of whom was
mes I., while James IV. became the husband of Henry's
ughter, Margaret. This marriage furnished England a
e of kings at a later date.

It would require a volume to record the political his-
ry and internal development of the English people du-
ng the reign of Henry VIII.[2] One fact we must now
serve in English history; and that is, the king is no
nger the only individual that plays a part in the world's
rama. Among the most powerful men of that day, was
ne king's chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. In fact, his
ower and fame lacked little of royalty. Able to perform
Herculean mental tasks, he gained the favor of his sover-
gn, and was allowed to hold the reins of government.
s a diplomat, he had no equal. Both King Francis of
rance and Emperor Charles V. are said to have ac-
owledged the Cardinal's power and courted his favor by
stowing upon him liberal pensions and costly gifts.
nry showered riches upon him, and he became the most
werful subject of the English king. When that cele-
ated meeting, known as the "Field of the Cloth of

[1] Stokes: "Medieval History," p. 172.

[2] *Vide* for this reign Froude: "History of England," London, 1870, . I. Hume: "History of England," Vol. III.

Gold" (1519) took place between Henry and Francis, gorgeous was the appearance of Wolsey. Clothed in a crimson robe, mounted on a mule trapped with gold, he rode beside his king as they entered the "camp of three hundred white tents that surrounded a fairy palace with gilded posterns and brightly colored oriels which rose like a dream from the barren plain of Guisnes, its walls hung with tapestry, its roof embossed with roses, its golden fountain spouting wine over the greensward."[1]

Still when his day arrived, Henry proved how little the powerful Cardinal was in his way, by casting him from his lofty seat and depriving him of life itself. So with all his powerful subjects, the will of the monarch sufficed for their death warrants, and they were often led to the fatal block without the form of a trial. He is said to have ordered seventy-two thousand executions during his reign.[2] Nor was Parliament an obstacle to attaining his ends. Instead of fearing the power of that body as former kings had, he made it his tool, and ruled it as he ruled his subjects. So that, when he wished money, Parliament voted a tax to raise it. As Henry could not brook a superior, he finally cast off allegiance to the pope and had himself declared head of the church in England. The arbitrary manners of the king are illustrated by the treatment of his wives. He was the husband of six successive wives, whose sad fates gained for them world-wide sympathy, but for him eternal condemnation.[3]

It must be added, however, that Henry VIII. was a great legislator, a scholar, and a patron of literature.

[1] Greene, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 114.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 130.

[3] These were Catharine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Parr.

ng no former reign, did England make such advances
ll departments. She ceased to be a secondary power
took her place in the front ranks of the great nations
he age—England, the Empire, Spain, and France.
rd had gained a world wide reputation for the learn-
and the independence of the masters who taught
e. John Colet, Dean of St. Pauls and founder of St.
ls school,[1] trained up a class of scholars who were not
id to think, talk, and write upon all political and
gious subjects. Even the king was not spared in
criticisms; but,
wit and irony,
held his ac-
up before the
d and tried to
e that kings
only men.
ng these free
arnest reform-
Erasmus and
Thomas More
foremost.
enry, himself,
a patron of
"New Learn-



Erasmus.

as it had been called. His was by no means an
ior mind. But to a powerful, well proportioned, well
ed physical frame, was added a superior intellect and
werful will. Erasmus had been his teacher; and, in
and learning, he appeared at no mean advantage
ng the most illustrious scholars who thronged his

[1] *Vide* Lecture by Rev. Ronald Bayne in "God's Englishmen," on, 1887, p. 108.

court and his universities. As we have intimated, his will was a strong and overbearing one. Though his subjects might boldly write and talk, their doom was sealed if they dared to cross their king's will. Even Wolsey's successor, the bold and polished Sir Thomas More, was led away to the block, because he would not sacrifice his religious freedom to the caprice of his stern sovereign.

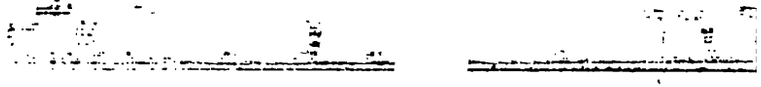
In this chapter, we have attempted to give a short outline of the gradual formation of the Modern Nations of Europe out of the crumbling ruins of the great empire of Rome. Even though extending over many centuries, like all formative periods in the world's history, it was a time of confusion and shifting of power. Let us attempt to keep in mind the main points brought out. Looked at broadly it is the period of the gradual emergence into the full blaze of history and into the light of modern culture of the Teutonic people of Europe. Of necessity, only the main details of this outline could be given. The development and growth of culture during this period of time require a separate chapter for a full treatment.

With this chapter, we bring too a conclusion the historical part of this volume. Before turning to study the culture of the Classical and Medieval periods, let us summarize this sketch of Aryan history. Although we have every reason to conclude that the Aryans (whether immigrants or not) were in Europe at extremely early times, yet their history is, comparatively speaking, modern. We are to regard the Aryans of Asia as emigrants from Europe, who wandered so far toward the rising sun that their route home became cut off by returning waves of Turanian people. In their new homes, their native energy for centuries blazed forth, a light to surrounding peoples, but as far as the main history and culture of the Aryan

people are concerned, the Aryans of Asia are not of great importance.

Turning to Europe, the development of her history is that of a cymiferous flower, the terminal blossoms are the first to unfold. Pushing away from the Baltic homeland, the people of Greece and then of Rome caught the sunlight of Oriental culture and unfolded in the light of the same. And then other blossoms, successively nearer and nearer the base, unfolded in turn until, finally, we have before us the full flowered plant of European history.

In this hurried review, we have tried to outline the history of Aryan people from a prehistoric past to the final appearance of the Modern Nations of to-day. Let us now turn to consider their development in culture. We will then see more clearly than ever that Aryan civilization and history are the civilization and history of the Medieval and Modern worlds; the Semitic and Turanian history and culture belonging to the Ancient period of history.



Part II.

History of the Intellectual Development of the Aryan People.

I. Greek Civilization.

II. Roman Civilization.

III. Medieval Civilization.

IV. Aryan Religion.

"Those conspicuous circumstances, to which the progress of civilization is commonly ascribed . . . far from being the cause of civilization, are at best only its effects although religion, literature, and legislation do, undoubtedly, modify the condition of mankind, they are still more modified by it They are themselves the product of preceding changes, and their results will vary according to the variations of the society on which they work."

BUCKLE.

"Civilization may be looked upon as the general improvement of mankind by higher organization of the individual and society, to the end of promoting at once man's goodness, power, and happiness."

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CHAPTER VI.

GREEK CIVILIZATION.

INTRODUCTION — Importance of Grecian Culture—Factors of Grecian Culture—Influence of Tribal Society—City Life—Family Life in Ancient Greece—In Classical Greece—Condition of Women at Athens —In Sparta—Explanation of the Same—Daily Life of an Athenian—The Value of Athenian Citizenship—Consequences of the Condition of Women in Athens—Education in Athens—Theatres of Athens—Greek Games—Greek Public Meals—Music and Dancing—Public Official Life—The Ecclesia—The Court of Areopagus—The Senate—Greek Philosophy—Thales—The Pythagoreans—Xenophanes—Parmenides — Heraclitus — Empedocles — Democritus — The Skeptics Sophists—Socrates—Plato—Aristotle—The Epicureans—The Stoics —Grecian Science—Astronomy—Mathematics—Greek Art—Temple Architecture—Painting—Phidias



WE ARE now ready to study Aryan civilization. The great importance of this will be apparent when we reflect, that the civilization of the world to-day is Aryan. Let us, therefore, strive to learn what we can of the growth and development of Aryan culture. We have before remarked, that the peculiarity of Aryan culture is not that the Aryan people, for the first time, discovered and applied the various factors which make up their culture, but that they adopted, applied to new uses, and developed the ideas that had long been extant in the world.

On the whole, though Aryan culture has flowed on in an ever widening and deepening stream, yet we may conveniently consider it under three great divisions, periods,

or epochs. In this connection, we will not consider th Aryans in Asia. For the latter are but exotics, and thei culture is not a fair test of Aryan culture. The firs Aryan people to come in contact with Oriental culture to seize on it, make it peculiarly their own, and develop it to an extent before unthought of, were the Hellenic peo ple of Asia Minor and Greece. Here we find the first stage of Aryan development. When, in the course of time, the inevitable hour came that the power and influ ence of Greece declined, we detect the dawning greatness of Rome, that country that for many centuries was to rule the world. In Rome, accordingly, we find a second stage of development.

In the case of Greece, the culture was confined to a very limited area. Rome ruled a much greater country but the centuries sped by, and, at last, Teutonic Europe spurred on by Aryan destiny, demanded a share in th culture of their more favored southern kinsmen. Accor ingly, when their armies brought down in ruins the R man Empire, and their people commenced to absorb th culture of Classical times, we enter on a third period the intellectual development of modern Europe. Und these three divisions, then, we will study the culture the Aryans.

It is needless to dilate on Grecian culture. The mo casual reader knows of its importance, and understan somewhat of the great influence it exerted in the cultu history of the Aryans. Greek art has always been, a always will be, considered the purest and most perfe approximation to the ideal. Even the poor remnants their architecture and sculpture, which we admire in t museums of Europe, and in some places of Greece, Sici and Asia Minor, even these dilapidated fragments of t

ginal works fill us with awe, with wonderment, with bounded admiration. The pottery works found in recian tombs exhibit the most exquisite designs, the ost delicate use of colors, and the most delightful ornaental forms. All these objects breathe the very spirit f high art; and the severest critics of modern times are nable to find fault with the gorgeous, and yet chaste, orers of Grecian columns, or with their representations of ale and female beauty.

It is the same in Literature. The dramas of Sophoes or Euripides, the odes of Pindar, and the comedies f Aristophones have survived the varying tastes and fasdious criticism of over sixty generations, and they still ine forth in unfaded brilliancy and poetic splendor. In hilosophy, with the exception of the founders of new regions, no other individuals can compare with Grecian hilosophers in point of influence on the thoughts and inions of mankind. It has well been said, that every an is either a born Platonist or a born Aristotelian; eaning thereby, that men are naturally divided into two asses of mental caste, of peculiar turn of mind—into ch as would lean toward Aristotle and his way of thinkg, and into such as would feel inclined to follow the footps of Plato.

Let us first inquire into the cause of Grecian culture. hat was it which enabled this people, inhabiting a very nited area of country, to achieve so great conquests in culture history of the world? Many scholars have empted to answer this query. Some have thought at their geographical location explained all. As is inted out in a previous volume,[1] "the culture of a ople is greatly influenced by their surroundings. The

[1] Vol. I. p. 765.

very appearance of a country, whether it is mountainous or plain, sea-girt or inland, influences the character of a people." Buckle[1] shows how much the culture of a people depends on climate, food, and physical surroundings. Von Humboldt and Ritter have pointed out the strange relation between the length of a country's coast line and the intelligence of its inhabitants. Others, again, seek to explain everything strange in the culture of the Greeks and other people by referring to inborn race qualities. We need not discuss these various opinions; but let us, in the case of Greece, point out a potent factor.

In our search, we must not loose sight of the results obtained in a former chapter.[2] It has been abundantly shown that the organization of a people for social and governmental purposes exerts a wonderful influence on their culture. Since society in ancient Greece was tribal society, we know that when we talk about a "state," we mean something altogether different from a political "state" of the present day. Long before the dawn of authenic history, owing to their limited expanse of territory, their tribal head-quarters had expanded into cities, and finally the tribe lost itself in the city. City and tribe became exchangeable terms. Hence we understand why, in ancient Greece, "city" and "state" were identical and co-extensive terms. This one point is of such importance for the whole of Greek civilization that it must not be lost sight of. In fact it is the main point.[3] It shows at once a vast difference between modern and ancient times. In Greece (as well as in the Roman empire), people did not know of any other dwelling place than a city. Every-

[1] "History of Civilization," Vol. I. chapter ii.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. chapter ii.

[3] This important point in Grecian culture has been elaborated in a recent work by Kuhn.

r belonged to a city, because city and tribe, or confed-
y, were co-extensive. In the "Politics" of Aristotle,
great work on Greek state-institutions, we read of



Grove of Altis.

ing else but of cities. This statement does not, how-
. exclude the existence of little settlements outside the

precincts of cities. We know the names of a number of such settlements in Attica, in Argolis, in Messene, etc. But these little "villages" (as we would call them)[1] had no existence of their own. They were incorporated into the city (of Athens, of Corinth, of Argos, etc.) as wards of the city, and they were administered by boards of commissioners whose head-quarters were invariably in the city.

The experience of all ages has proved the powerful influence of city-life on all descriptions of mental activity. The inhabitants of cities are continually subject to the stirring, suggestive, animating atmosphere of a higher developed life. They see more, they undertake and risk more, they experience more than country-people. All the energies of their souls are called forth, and almost daily, by an unceasing array of grave and less serious affairs, by meetings of all kind, by street occurrences, by shows, by business transactions, etc. It is, accordingly, a mere matter of course, that the inhabitants of cities develop more rapidly than those of country-places, villages, or hamlets. Their intellect, being taxed to its utmost capacity, responds by a more comprehensive and profound activity. Nothing can illustrate this remark more vividly than a comparison of Greek civilization with medieval culture.

In the Middle Ages, at least in the first half of the Medieval period, there were but very few cities in Northern and Central Europe. In England, in the northern part of France (the southern part was an old province of Rome), in Germany (northeastern part), in Austria only a few small cities were to be found.[2] The bulk of the people

[1] In many cases these "villages" were tribal head-quarters of subject tribes, or of tribes whose union made the confederacy whose headquarters were the city.

[2] Because in these countries, the land had become the basis of division [See Vol. II. p. 164].

ıe country in "marks," as they were called in
in "shires,"[1] as they termed them in England.
of Europe, at that time, were mostly in the south-
f the continent; that is to say, in the very parts
wisdom and energy of the Romans had erected
bulwarks against the inroads of the barbarians.
; the state of affairs in the Middle Ages, we need
onished to hear, that the people of those times



Siege Machine.

very slow development of intelligence and en-
nt, that superstitious beliefs were rife amongst
that, in all higher walks of literature and art,
sadly deficient.

then we come upon one important factor in the
f Greece. Owing to their contracted area, the

[1] had taken the place of tribes of the older period. Ibid. p.

land did not become with them the basis of society at th expense of kinship. Hence their tribal headquarters gre into cities and their culture became *intense*, the social co tact of mind with mind spurred them on to ever greate flights. Now let us turn to study some of the peculiaritie of every day life in Greece. In reading the Homeric poems we gain a clear and highly gratifying picture of the consti tution of old Greek tribal life (1200-1000 B. C). The father is the head of the joint-family, which had become, by that time, the unit of society. The house-father was not an irresponsible despot. The house-mother seems to have lived on terms of equality with him. The people lived in single mansions, although cities are mentioned.[1] In the political life described by the Homeric poems, the tribal chief, basileus or king, rules, and his office generally passes by inheritence, though the gentes exercised the right of election if necessary. But he is not, like an eastern monarch, even practically despotic; he is bound, first, by "themistes," viz., the traditional customs of the people; he must consult the "boule," the tribal council; and lastly, his proposals require to be ratified by the "agora," or popular assembly. Many of the pictures of manners, especially in the Odyssey, have the refinement of a noble simplicity in thought and feeling and of genuine courtesy which is peculiarly Hellenic. The useful arts are still in an early stage. The use of the principal metals is known, but not, apparently, the art of smelting or soldering them. Money is not mentioned, oxen being the usual measure of value; and there is no certain allusion to the art of writing. The main occupation of the people was agriculture and war.

This picture, however, differs from historical Greece,

[1] Argos, Troja, etc.

s to say from Greece as it developed from the ninth
ry B. C. to the time of the Roman conquest. Mo-
ny, it is true, was kept up as formerly. But in the
on of women, a radical change took place, a change the
nation of which requires a thorough understanding
e whole frame of Grecian culture. In general, we
m hear of anything else than the deeds and exploits
en. Battles, sieges, truces, adventures of all sorts
old, and all and each of them bespeak the audacity,
droitness, the failures, or successes of men. We con-
ly hear of their state of affairs, of the way they
rned and were being governed, of their assemblies
war-councils; of the state of women, however, we
but little. They usually sink back into the insignifi-
of their households, and are not considered worth
ioning.

But such is not the method and duty of a real His-
of Civilization. It is a fact of all experience, that
en exercise a vast although silent, and, as it were
t, influence over the destinies of men. To ig-
such influence in the study of nations is equiv-
to ignoring one of the most powerful factors in
development of culture.[1] Hence we have first to
l upon the condition of women in historic Greece.
in modern times, the social condition of women is
y much the same all over the Christian world. No-
thinks of curtailing their natural rights as free-born
n: they obtain the same rank and positions that
husbands hold; they can move freely; they can join
fathers or brothers at public shows or other locali-
they can have free intercourse with male and female

[1] Buckle writes a very elaborate chapter, showing the influence of
a on civilization.

persons; they can dress as they please, etc., etc. In one word, a modern "lady" of South or North America does not essentially differ from a "lady" in Spain or Germany. As to personal demeanor, as well as to social standing, they occupy an almost identical position.



Types of Greek Women.

This, however, was not the case in ancient Greece. The position, the social standing of a women in Athens was totally different from that of a woman in Sparta, although only a few miles intervened between the two. Athenian women lived in upstairs-rooms, so that their husbands would know when they left their apartments. They were obliged to stay at home in the midst of their servants.

were not permitted to go to theaters or other public
, unless some very serious tragedy was given. From
cial gatherings of their husbands, from the so-called
osia (which are so charmingly described in Plato's
), they were excluded; and even at family suppers,
ad to sit apart. When in the streets, they were con-
y attended by slaves, and nobody dared to address
nor were they allowed to approach anybody.[1]

The choice of a wife among the Athenians was rarely
ded upon affection, and taking into consideration the
led existence of an Athenian maid, could have been
ldom the result of previous acquaintance or famil-
. In many cases, a father chose for his son a bride
the latter had never seen, or compelled him to mar-
the sake of checking his extravagance. Nor was
nsent of a female to a match proposed for her gener-
hought necessary; she was obliged to submit to the
s of her parents, and receive from them her husband
ord, even though he were a stranger to her.

Sophocles, the greatest of all Greek drama writers,
describes the lot of woman in this respect. "When
re grown up (he makes a female say), we are
n from our parents and paternal gods." So also
uripides, Hermione,[2] a representative Greek woman,
res that it is her father's business to provide a
nd for her.[3] And, for fear the father might not be
enough, there were magistrates in Athens, the *gynae-*

ee "Athenaeus," Lib. vii, and Aristotle in the fourth book of his
ics." In the Excursus "On Women," in Becker's admirable
icles," many instances will be found of the rigid measures adop-
to exclusion of women in Greece.

Andromache, 951.

But match-making among the ancients was not, in default of legal
tions, entirely left to the care and forethought of parents, for we
f women who made propositions of marriage. Pollux, iii. 81.

ew joint-family.[1] Aristotle always classes women and hildren together.[2] An unfaithful woman was practically xpelled from society and excommunicated. If she appeared in a temple, and even in those temples which foreign women and slaves were allowed to enter, any one might treat her as he pleased, providing he did not kill or mutilate her.[3] It is in accordance with the spirit of this treatment of Athenian women that Athens did not allow her citizens to marry with foreign women, nor conversely.[4]

This peculiar and unworthy position of women in Athens found its counterpart in Sparta, in the Laconian state. Women in Sparta were much less restricted in their personal freedom. They were not only permitted to join the social gatherings of men, and to appear alone in public, but they were simply obliged to partake in the athletic exercises of the stronger sex, proving their physical valor by wrestling and boxing matches.[5] Accordingly their flesh became developed to the statuesque beauty of marble figures; and, on their occasional visits to Athens or other cities, they roused the envious wonderment of their lady hosts. When married, they were expected to have children; and this main and principal object had to be obtained by any means. An old husband had to be supplanted by a young lover, with both the consent of public opinion and the approval of the state.[6]

In Sparta, the state, the conservation of those old, time-hallowed institutions, was the first and last consid-

1 *Vide* Hearne: "Aryan Household."
2 Aristotle, 4th book of Politics.
3 Demosthenes adv. Near. ch. 22. Aeschines adv. Tim. ch. 86.
4 Demosthenes adv. Near. p. 1356.
5 Plato, Leg. vii.
6 Limburg-Brower: "Historie de la Civil Morale et R. des Grecs," IV. 165.

eration. It is a well-known fact, that in Sparta every newly-born baby had to be submitted to a jury of commissioners, who passed an ultimate decision on the vitality of the child. In cases of an unfavorable decision, the baby was simply flung into the abyss of the Taygetus.[1] The State had no use for weak, fragile citizens.



Discus Thrower.

For the meditative mind, these facts are highly suggestive. Why did women enjoy a liberty in Sparta that was absolutely withheld from them in Athens? Can such broad facts be ascribed to mere accidental causes, to the mere whim of legislators? On the contrary, the general and determining facts of history, or, in other words, the institutions of nations do not, and never did, depend on accidental, whimsical freaks of this or that prominent man or men. They invariably depend on some broad, general cause, the working of which can not be tampered with by the interference of single individuals.

Often all, or the majority, of Athenian and Spartan institutions are attributed to the wisdom and legislative prudence of Solon and Lycurgus respectively. And no doubt, these two eminent men enacted a few very wholesome laws, and administered their states with great insight into the character and tendencies of the people. But far from being the sole originators of all Athenian or

[1] Plutarch, Lycurgus.

an institutions, they found these institutions already istence and did nothing else but simply sanction . The institutions of a nation can not be created by cipal ordinances or by state-laws. The real root of eculiar standing of the women of Athens and Sparta utside the scope of individual lawgivers. The real e will be found in the rights and duties of citizenship ese two states, and the care taken to preserve purity ood. Let us then inquire into the rights and duties thenian citizenship. As we would expect, being in dvanced stage of tribal society, the city-states in ce were thoroughly democratical states; that is to each citizen was called upon to take an active part e administration of the state. t this, in itself, was not suffi- . Citizens may take part in dministration of their state ercising the right of suffrage They elect boards of indi- l officials and entrust them the administration of affairs, ionally controlling them by other board. This, in gen-



Solon.

is the American system. In Greece, however, the s of the state were carried on, not by a few boards of ls, but by the people themselves. The whole people, ch, took part in the government. There were several sand judges (dikastes), several hundred councilmen, ts, civil and naval officers—and these thousands of s were occupied by nearly every single citizen in

We will form a more adequate idea of Greek civili- n by representing to ourselves the daily life of an

Athenian citizen. The average citizen of Athens sp his day mostly out of his house. His material c were reduced to a very low measure. The warm, bra climate of his country did not require much substa food or much or costly clothing, and his private inc was considerably enhanced by the fees and compensat received at the hands of the state. Athenian citizer was an ample source of all kinds of small revenues. visiting the public theaters, the poorer citizens, inste paying their entrance-fee, were, on the contrary, th cipients of a small remuneration.[1] In a lawsuit at Atl the jury did not consist of twelve good men and but generally of several hundred,[2] and consequently e single citizen had frequent chances to act and to be as a juror.

Besides there were numerous festivities[3] of a p character, and at the expense of the state, at which e citizen could indulge in all kind of merry-making, fea and frolic. In addition to all these great attraction public halls and thoroughfares, arcades and "acader were swarming with all sorts of orators, philosop "sophists," and politicians, who were continually har ing the people, and a great number of whom were n representatives of their art or profession: like Per the unique statesman; Isocrates and Demosthenes, th rivaled orators; Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Antisth Theophrastus, the philosophers; etc. Very few Athe were so poor as to be without a slave, who was consi his legal property and who, in fact, did all the busi all the work and drudgery in his stead. Finally th

[1] Boekhs: "Publ. Econ. of Athens," p. 219, 226.

[2] Maer and Schoemann: "Altisches Prozess," p. 125.

[3] The Dionysia, the Delphinia, the Eleusinia, etc., etc. Thes be treated later.

rous wars of the Athenian Commonwealth were a fruit- source of revenue for the state as well as for the in- idual citizen.

If we now combine these features into one whole, we l readily see that a citizen in Athens did not possess more precious good or boon than his citizenship. It s not only an honor, a high standing, as in modern tes; but it was an almost sure guarantee of a safe liv- . Hence it is but a matter of course, that the Athe-



Graves at Cyrene.

ns looked upon their citizenship as upon a treasure, the eat value of which would be greatly impaired by a lav- distribution of the same. They established, therefore, ry strict and rigid laws as to the capacity of foreigners become citizens of Athens; and, as a matter of fact, is honor was conferred on but very few outsiders.

Even a born Athenian had to undergo a great variety inquiries into his descent, parentage, etc., before being mitted into the rank of the full citizen. The candidate, whom the citizenship was to be conferred, was proposed

conduct of women. If the slightest doubt can be
n on the purity of a woman's life, the purity of citi-
ip is also at stake. And, consequently, it was nothing
lf evident, that the Athenians, in order to preserve
most precious attribute free from all stains, took re-
to the severe measure of keeping their women in
ate of perfect prisoners. In doing so, they did not
much confidence in the natural bent of women towards



Wedding March.

uous life; they preferred a sure lock to all specious
ises.

We have so far succeeded in accounting for the pecul-
ate of women in Athens. But what as to Sparta?
shall we explain the freer state of women in Sparta?
not the Spartans estimate their citizenship as highly
: Athenians? Did not it confer upon them similar
uments and privileges? Most certainly. Why then

did they not think of debarring their women from all intercourse with the outward world? To this there is a very simple and satisfactory answer. Of all the Dorian people, the Spartans kept themselves the longest unmixed with foreign blood. So jealous were they to maintain their exclusive privileges, that they had only admitted two men into their body before the time of the historian Herodotus, (the fifth century B. C.)[1]. There being no strangers in the state, they did not dread the admixture of foreign blood, entertaining, as we remarked above, rather latitudinarian views about matrimonial exclusiveness.

In addition to this, there was another cause at work in Sparta, which illustrates the peculiar bent of the Spartan mind. The constitution of the Spartan state displayed a decided aversion to foreign immigrants; and, in order to hold out as few attractions as possible, they instituted the use of a money, that had no intrinsic value whatever. Thus their money consisted of huge iron discs, and no gold or silver was admitted into the country. The iron discs, while red hot, were dipped in vinegar to render them unmalleable and useless for any other purpose than money. Of a consequence, this kind of money was no allurement to the trading people of other communities. Market for the same was restricted to the community of the Spartans. Hence Sparta, not being pestered with the dangerous influence of foreigners, who helped to swell the population of Athens to hundreds of thousands of people, could easily dispense with rigorous measures with regard to the private conduct of women.

[1] Herodotus i. 33-35. Afterwards their numbers were occasionally recruited by the admission of Laconians, Helots, and foreigners, but this was done very sparingly prior to the time of Agis and Cleomenes, who created large numbers of citizens.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

We have now gained an insight into the state of
n of Athens and Sparta, and likewise into the causes
same. Our information about women in other Gre-
ommunities is rather scanty. But by what we occa-
lly read in the historians and dramatists of Greece,
ay fairly infer, that the cities of Asia Minor, Sicily,
aly, Macedonia, and of other Greek settlements fol-
l the example either of Athens or of Sparta.

This peculiar position of women in Greece, more
ially in the cities where women were treated after the
nian pattern, did not fail to produce national features
ly peculiar and important for the historian. We
the strange love of men for men and the "Hetairae".
ternal yearning of men for deeper emotions like love
ympathy could not be gratified by a system which
ded women as a means for maintaining the purity of
nship rather than the sweet and consoling compan-
f life. As a mere consequence, men became alien-
rom their wives; and the tender relation between the
xes was exchanged for the stern duties of guard and
er.

But the emotions, which men were unable to find and to
e in at their homes, were sought for in other direc-

Thus arose a closer intimacy between men and men
would else be explicable. Men attached themselves
ir male friends with all the unalloyed force of their
and sought to make up for the joys of wedlock by
nting in the charms of friendship. We read of famous
s, like Epaminondas and Pelopidas, Harmodius and
giton, Damon and Pythias, etc., who, to the present,
as the model archetypes of elevated friendship. The
ated three hundred Theban youths were all closely
l by the bonds of unswerving friendship; and, as

a rule, we hear more frequently of the friendship than of the love of a Grecian.

Friendship, however, is not able to quench the passionate longing for more vehement feelings, which is so natural to humanity. And hence the Grecians, with their keen sense of beauty and their highly susceptible minds,



Music and Dance.

turned to more gratifying sources of pleasure. It is no wonder that these sources were represented by females and these females are called "*Hetairae*". They were free, emancipated women, who lived by their physical and mental charms. There were several classes of these women. The lowest were much like their equivalent class of to day, they lived in public houses (*perneia*), state-institutions,

which were first established by Solon.[1] Then comes the numerous class of freed-women, comprehending the flute-player, cithera-player, etc., who were hired to assist at the domestic sacrifices. Many in this class were probably distinguished for wit and vivacity. But those remarkable personages, who by their intellect and power of fascination, rather than by their beauty, exerted such an extensive sway over their age, and who, by the position in which they stood to the greatest men of the day, have secured an historic celebrity, were sprung from a different order.

For Aspasia and the Corinthian Lais, as well as Phryne and Pythionice were aliens, and Lamia was the daugter of a free Athenian citizen. Almost every famous man of Greece had one of these lady-companions with whom he discussed the pursuits and soothed the evils of life. Thus we read of Plato and Archaenassa, Aristotle and Herpyllis, Epicurus and Leontion, Isocrates and Metaneira, Menander and Glycera. The beauty of some, especially of Phryne, said to have been the most beautiful women that ever lived, attracted the eyes of all Greece; Apelles painted her picture, and Praxiteles made her the model for the Cidian Aphrodite, the loveliest representation of womanhood that ever the sculptor's chisel produced. Some were renowned for their musical faculty, some were celebrated painters. Socrates, the wisest of men, did not hesitate to say that he considered Aspasia his teacher.

It was not to be expected that all women would acquiesce in the general view of their rights and duties. Some of the women in Greece were aware of their unworthy social standing; and, in the seventh century, a movement began with a view to a reformation, or an emancipation of women. The center of this movement was the great

1 Athenæus, xiii. p. 569.

poetess Sappho. She was the only women in all antiquity whose productions, by universal consent, placed her on the same level as the greatest poets of the other sex. Solon, on hearing one of her songs sung at a banquet, got the singer to teach it to him immediately, saying that he wished to learn it and die. Herodotus, the historian, Plato, and Aristotle refer to her in terms of profound respect. Plato called her the tenth muse.

Sappho determined to do all she could in order to elevate her sex. The one method of culture open to women at that time was poetry; and, accordingly, Sappho established a school of Greek poetesses, the most celebrated of her disciples being Erinna. But this, as well as similar other efforts to raise Greek women from the stagnancy of their lives, failed entirely of its object. Their condition being a growth and natural product of deep-rooted institutions, it could not be altered or modified by the spasmodic efforts of a few individuals. Great changes are never the result of measures taken by isolated individuals, whom the near-sighted opinion of the public are pleased to call "heroes". Great national changes are brought about by new institutions or by the decay of old ones.

When we think of the great influence of political institutions in Greece, we are surprised at the lack of public schools. Very few people could do without a knowledge of reading and writing, but still they never had a system of public schools. The state never thought of erecting public institutions of that kind to be maintained at the general expense. The sort of an education that children received depended mainly on the parents' own conscientiousness. Some got none at all.[1] This however was not usual; and so necessary a thing did school-going seem, that

[1] The Sausage seller, for instance. Aristophanes, Equities, 1234.

the women and children of Athens fled to Troezen, time of the Persian invasion, the inhabitants, besides rting them, paid persons to teach the children.[1]

The selection of a teacher rested entirely with the pa-

The tutors were, in some degree under the surveil- of the state, though this latter exercised, little supervis-



Entrance to a Greek Garden.

ion over the qualifications of the tutors or their methods of teaching. It is thought that the only ement was one as to age.[2] Instruction was in three nes: grammar, music, gymnastics "Grammar" was

utarch, Themistocles, 10. See also Aelian Var. History vii. 15. ae read that the Mytelenaeans, when masters of the sea, pun- ir revolting allies by not allowing their children to be taught. g this the severest penalty they could inflict

our account of Greek customs, etc., we have freely drawn from "Charicles."

the most indispensible part of instruction. It comprehended reading, writing, and arithmetic. When the children could read and understand what they read, the works of the poets were put in requisition, to exercise their minds, and awaken their hearts to great and noble deeds. The study of music began somewhat later, according to Plato with the thirteenth year.[1] The Greeks knew nothing of a two-months' or four-months' summer vacation for the school-children. Attendance at school was continued till the pupils reached riper years in the Greek sense, which would generally be at the age of sixteen.

The more advanced instruction was imparted by teachers of a higher order, the Rhetoricians and Sophists, whose charges only the rich could defray. But this did not prevent the lovers of knowledge from purchasing their instruction even at the greatest sacrifices. Thus Cleanthes, Menedemus, and Asclepiades worked by night in gardens and mills, in order to be able to attend by day the classes of the philosophers. With the Spartans, however, mental culture was a secondary consideration, and Aristotle[2] justly upbraids them for bringing up their offspring like animals. We nowhere hear anything of educational institutions for girls, and indeed, they would have been incompatible with the universal training of the female sex. The lack of public state schools will more easily be understood if we consider the innumerable occasions for instruction of all kind afforded by the publicity of all proceedings in statesmanship, science, and art. To listen to the great orators of the court-hall, of the assembly, or of the philosophical "academy" was an ample resource of useful information. But perhaps the most fruitful source of general instruction was afforded by the

[1] Leg. vii. [2] Polit. viii. 4.

magnificent theaters and their tragedies and comedies, which comprised all that is great, profound, and suggestive.

Here, as well as in other cases, our main information refers to Athens, but we can the more readily acquiesce in it since the other cities of Greece arranged their theatricals according to the Athenian standard. The Athenians, before the time of the great tragedian, Aeschylus, 525-456 B. C., had only wooden scaffolding on which their dramas were performed. Such a wooden theater was erected only for the Dionysiac festivals, and was afterward pulled down. The first drama that Aeschylus brought upon the stage was performed upon such a wooden scaffold, and it is recorded as a singular and ominous coincidence that on that occasion[1] the scaffolding broke down. To prevent the recurrence of such an accident, the building of a stone theater was forthwith commenced on the southeastern descent of the Acropolis; for it should be observed, that, throughout Greece, theaters were always built upon eminences, or on the sloping sides of hills.

The Attic theater was, like all Greek theaters, placed in such a manner that the place for the spectators formed the upper or northwestern, and the stage, with all that belonged to it, the southeastern part, and between these two parts lay the orchestra. The seats for the spectators, which were in most cases cut into the rock, consisted of rows of benches rising one above another; the rows themselves formed parts (nearly three-fourths) of concentric circles, and were at intervals divided into compartments by one or more broad passages running between them and parallel with the benches. The entrance to the seats of the spectators was partly underground, and led to the lowest row of benches.

[1] 500 B. C.

The orchestra was a circular, level space, extending in front of the spectators and somewhat below the lowest row of benches. But it was not a perfect circle, one segment of it being appropriated to the stage. The orchestra was the place for the chorus, where it performed its evolutions and dances, for which purpose the orchestra was covered with boards. As the chorus was the element out of which the drama arose, so the orchestra was originally the most important part of a theater. It lay under the open sky. Steps led from each side of the orchestra to the stage. The machines in the Greek theatres were extremely numerous, but we are in many cases unable to form an exact idea of their nature and their effects.



Entrance to a Greek Theatre.

Theatrical representations at Athens began early in the morning, or after breakfast, and when the concourse of people was expected to be great, persons would even go to occupy their seats in the night. When the weather was fine, especially at the Dyonisiac festivals in spring, the people appeared with garlands on their heads. As it was not unusual for the theatrical performances to last from ten to twelve hours, the spectators required refreshments, and they used to take wine and cakes.

The whole of the *cavea* in the Attica theatre must have contained about fifty thousand spectators. The places for generals, archons (chief magistrates), priests,

gn embassadors, and other distinguished persons
in the lowest rows of benches, and nearest to the
estra. On the stage the actors were playing, all
hem wearing characteristic masks. It seems to us
ier inappropriate that an actor should have one and
same mask all the play through. But we must bear
ind the immense dimensions of a Greek theatre, where
most distant spectators were not likely to see the fea-
es of the actors unless artificially enlarged. These



Rural Festivities among the Greeks.

sks, therefore, were a means to make up for our modern
ra glasses.

The Greek theater leads us to a consideration of the
eek games. The public games of Greece were athletic
ntests and spectacles of various kinds, generally connec-
with, and forming part of a religious observance.
obably no institution exercised a greater influence in
lding the national character and producing that unique
e of physical and intellectual beauty, which we see

nceforward we have an almost unbroken list of the tors in each succeeding Olympiad, or fourth recurrent ar. The Olympian games survived even the extinction Greek liberty, and had nearly completed twelve centu- s when they were abolished by the decree of the Chris- n emperor, Theodosius, in the tenth year of his reign. e last Olympian victor was a Romanized Armenian med Varastad.

Let us attempt to call up the scene which Olympia its palmy days must have presented as the great festival proached.[1] Heralds had proclaimed throughout Greece e truce of God, which put a stop to all warfare, and en- red to all a safe conduct during the sacred month. So igiously was this observed that the Spartans chose to k the liberties of Greece, when the Persians were at e gates of Pylae, rather than march during the holy ys. Those white tents, which stand out against the mber gray of the olive groves, belong to the *Hellanodicai*, ten judges of the games, chosen one for each tribe of e Eleians. They have already been here ten months, re- iving instructions in their duties.

All, or most, of the athletes must have arrived, for ey have been undergoing the indispensible training in e gymnasium of the Altis. But along the "holy road" m the town of Elis, there is crowding a motly throng. nspicuous in the long train of pleasure seekers are the red deputies, clad in their robes of office, and bearing th them in their carriages of state offerings to the rine of the god. Nor is there any lack of distinguished itors.

It may be Alcibiades, who, they say, has entered en chariots; or Gorgias, who has written a poem for

[1] In the description of these games we follow Conrad Francis Stoer.

the occasion; or the sophist Hippias, who boasts that all he bears about him, from the sandals on his feet to the *dithyrambo* he carries in his hand, are his own manufac-



Herodotus Reading History.

ture; or Action, who will exhibit his picture of the marriage of Alexander and Rosana—the picture that gained him no less a prize than the daughter of the Hellanodicas, Praconides; or, in an earlier age, the poet-laureate of the

lympians, Pindar, himself. Lastly, as at the medieval ournament, there are "scores of ladies whose bright eyes ain influence;" matrons, indeed, are excluded on pain of eath, but maidens, in accordance with Spartan manners, re admitted to the show.

At daybreak, the athletes presented themselves in he *Bouleuterion*, where the presidents were sitting, and proved by witnesses that they were of pure Hellenic descent, and had no stain, religious or civil, on their character. Laying their hands on the bleeding victim, they swore that they had duly qualified themselves by ten months' continuous training in the gymnasium, and that they would use no fraud or guile in the sacred contests. Thence they proceeded to the *Stadium*, where they stripped to the skin and anointed themselves. A herald proclaimed: "Let the runners put their feet to the line," and called on the spectators to challenge any disqualified by blood or character.

If no objections were made, they were started by the note of the trumpet. The presidents seated near the goal adjudged the victory. The foot-race was only one of the twenty-four Olympian contests which Pausanias enumerates. Till the 77th Olympiad all was concluded in one day, but afterward the feast was extended to five. The following were the chief games: foot-racing, wrestling, leaping, boxing, and chariot-racing.

The prizes were at first, as in Homeric times, of some intrinsic value, but after the 6th Olympiad, the only prize for each contest was a garland of wild olive. Greek writers from Herodotus to Plutarch, dwell with complacency upon the magnanimity of a people who cared for nothing but honor, and were content to struggle for a corruptible crown. But the successful athlete received in addition to the imme-

diate gift of the crown and the congratulations of his friends, very substantial rewards. A herald proclaimed his name, his parentage, and his country; the Hellanodicai took from a table of ivory and gold the olive crown and placed it on his head, and in his hand a branch of palm; as he marched in the sacred revel to the temple of Zeus, his friends and admirers showered in his path flowers and costly gifts, singing an old song of Archilochus, and his name was canonized in the Greek calendar.



Helmets, Head Covering, and Weapons.

Fresh honors and rewards awaited him on his return home. If he were an Athenian, he received, according to the law of Solon, five hundred drachmae,[1] and free rations for life in the *Prytaneum*; if a Spartan, he had as his prerogative the post of honor in battle. Poets like Pindar, Limonides, and Euripides sang his praises, and sculptors like Phidias and Praxiteles were engaged by the state to carve his statue. We even read of a breach in the town walls being made to admit him, as if the com-

[1] $20.

n road were not good enough for such a hero; and there well-attested instances of altars being built, and sacri- s offered to a successful athlete.

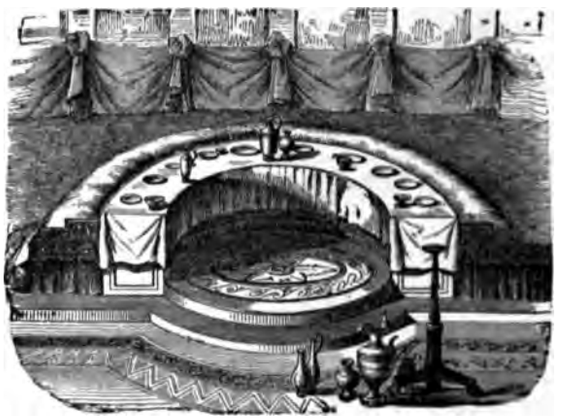
No wonder, then, that an Olympian prize was regarded the crown of human happiness. Cicero, with a Ro- n's contempt for Greek frivolity, observes with a sneer, t an Olympian victor receives more honor than a mphant general at Rome; and he tells the story of Rhodian Diagoras, who, having himself won the prize Olympia and seen his two sons crowned on the same , was addressed by a Laconian in these words: "Die, goras, for thou hast nothing short of divinity to desire." ibiades, when setting forth his services to the state, s first his victory at Olympia, and the prestige he had n for Athens by his magnificent display. But perhaps most remarkable evidence of the exaggerated value ich the Greeks attached to athletic prowess is a casual pression which the historian Thucydides employs when scribing the enthusiastic reception of Brasidas at Leione. e government, he says, voted him a crown of gold, and multitude flocked round him and decked him with rlands, "as though he were an athlete."[1] The above de- iption of the Olympian games will serve generally for other great festivals of Greece.[2]

The peculiar caste of a nation's civilization manifests elf, not only in those broader and more striking institu- ns like political or military devices, but also in the st ordinary customs and habits of every day life. Nay, the historian of civilization, these latter customs are central point of attention. It is from this point of w, that we are now going to treat of the manner, in

[1] Thucydides, Bell. Pel. iv. 121.

[2] Other national games were the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian.

which the ancient Greeks used to take and enjoy the meals. The ways in which different nations take the meals, the kind and the quality of food they use, are ju as characteristic of their culture, of their degree of d velopment, as are their language and their laws. So people are vegetarians; and, to the present day, the pe ant class in Europe, especially in the eastern part of E rope, are almost exclusively vegetarians. Other natio will be more fond of eating than drinking. Others, agai have a decided predilection for meat, using pastry h



Arrangements for a Meal.

very sparingly. In doing so, they are not prompted mere economic reasons; it is not the scarcity or the al dance of meat or flour which regulates the wants people above the primitive stage of civilization. Th are other causes of a purely social character. In Spa for instance, the inhabitants took their meals in comm in a public place, in the *Syssitia*.[1]

[1] The custom of taking the principal meal of the day in public vailed not only at Sparta and Athens [where it was kept up until paratively recent times] but also at Megara in the age of Thec [v. 305.] and at Corinth until the age of Periander [about 620 B. C.

Every head of a family was obliged to contribute a
in portion at his own cost and charge; those who
not able to do so, were excluded from the public
s.[1] The guests were divided into companies, generally
fteen persons each, and all vacancies were filled by
t, in which unanimous consent was indispensible for
ion. No persons, not even the kings, were excused
attendance at the public tables, except for some satis-
ry reason. Each person was supplied with a cup of
d wine, which was filled again when required; but
king to excess was prohibited at Sparta. The repast
of a plain and simple character. The principal dish
the "black broth" with pork. The after meal was
ever more varied and richly supplied by presents of
e, poultry, fruit, and other delicacies which no one was
ved to purchase. Moreover, the entertainment was en-
ed by cheerful conversation, though on public mat-
[2] Singing also was frequently introduced as we learn,
Alcman,[3] that "at the banquets of the men it was fit
he guests to sing the pæan." (a hymn).

The use and purpose of this institution are very mani-

They united the citizens by the closest ties of inti-
y and union, causing them to consider themselves as
bers of one family. At Sparta, also, they were emi-
ly useful in a military point of view, for the members
e *syssitia* were formed in corresponding military di-
ns, and fought together in the field as they lived to-
er at home, with more bravery and a keener sense of
e than could have been the case with merely chance

it was abolished as being favorable to aristocracy [Aristotle, v. section 32]. Nor was it confined to the Hellenic world [Pol. , for, according to Aristotle, it prevailed still earlier among the trians in Southern Italy.

[1] Aristotle, Pol. ii. 7, 4. Xenophon, Rep. Lacon v. 6.

[3] Fragm. 31.

comrades.[1] The refinement of private cookery was of course almost totally excluded; the bulk of the courses consisted of roughly roasted beef or venison.

Let us now cast a glance at the other meals of the Greeks. From the earliest times, it was usual to take three meals a day. The names of these were *Ariston* (corresponding to our breakfast), *Deipnon* (luncheon), *Dorpon* (supper). The breakfast was taken quite early,



Living Room in a Greek House.

directly after rising.[2] The chief meal, as among the Romans, was the third, the *Dorpon*. If a person ate alone without any company, the Greeks did not call it a regular meal. It was very common for several to club together and have a feast at their joint expense. Picnic parties were often made up to dine in the country, especially on

1 Herodotus, i. 65.

2 See Aristophanes' Birds, 1825.

the sea-shore. It was not thought a breach of good manners to bring to a friend's house an uninvited guest. It was expected that guests should come dressed with more than ordinary care, and also have bathed shortly before. As soon as the guests arrived at the house of their host, their shoes or sandals were taken off by the slaves and their feet washed. After the feet had been washed, the guests reclined on couches.

Homer never describes persons as reclining, but always as sitting at their meals; but at what time the change was introduced is uncertain. The Greek women and children, however, like the Roman, continue to sit at their meals. It was usual for only two persons to recline on each couch. In eating, the Greeks had no knives or forks but made use of their fingers only, except in eating soup or other liquids, which they partook of by means of a spoon. After eating, they wiped their fingers on pieces of bread. They did not use any cloths or napkins.

The most common food among the [illegible] "*maidra*," a kind of frumenty [illegible] pared in different ways. [illegible] the second most usual [illegible] made at home, but [illegible] The vegetables ordinarily [illegible] cabbages, beans, lentils, [illegible] animal food [illegible] It is a curious fact that [illegible] never read of Homer [illegible] later times [illegible] food of the Greeks.

A [illegible] sister of [illegible] of what [illegible]

meat, etc.: the second, which corresponds to our desert, consisted of different kinds of fruit, sweetmeats, confections, etc. When the first course was finished, the tables were taken away and water was given to the guests for the purpose of washing their hands. Crowns, made of garlands of flowers, were also then given to them, as well as various kinds of perfumes.

Wine was not partaken of until the first course was finished; but as soon as the guests had washed their hands, unmixed wine was introduced in a large goblet, of which



Dwelling of a Rich Greek.

each drank a little, after pouring out a small quantity as a libation. This libation was usually accompanied with the singing of a paean and the playing of flutes. Then the regular *Symposion* began. The symposion was the principal part of a supper. It consisted chiefly of hard drinking, enlivened with brisk conversation and music. The Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, Cretans, and a few other communities, were devoted drinkers. But, with the exception of the first goblet mentioned above, none but watered wine was used. To mix it half and half was considered rude, the proportion generally was three

one; or two to one; or three to two.[1] Drunkenness was ot considered a shame, and even Plato himself apolo- ises for it.

Every Greek symposion had a *Symposiarch*, a presi- ent of the entertainment, a "master of the revels," who as generally chosen by the throw of dice. The sympo- iarch determined the proportion of the mixture and the number of *Kiatoi* (goblets); he could also impose fines, etc. It was customary, at least at Athens, to drink out of small goblets, or, at all events, to begin with them, afterward resorting to larger. According to Ephippus,[2] Alexander the Great drained off a goblet holding a gallon and a half. In the "Symposion" of Plato, Alcibiades and Socrates each empty an immense cup containing nearly four pints, and frequently such cups were emptied at one draught.

The cups were always carried round from right to ft, and the same order was observed in the conversation. he company frequently drank to the health of one another, ıd they did so in a peculiar way. They drank as many oblets as there were letters in the name of their friend. hus Alcibiades would drink to the health of Socrates by mptying eight goblets, to which Socrates would respond ith a still greater number of goblets, the name of Alci- iades being composed of ten letters.

Music and dancing were usually introduced, as already tated, at symposia; and we find few representations of uch scenes on ancient vases without the presence of female layers on the flute and the cithera. But these symposia

[1] In this as well as in all our statements regarding the meals and mposia of the ancient Greeks, we follow chiefly the incidental remarks Plato's dialogues, and the ample allusions in Aristophanes and other reek comedians.

[2] Athenæus, x.

were not wassailing excesses only. All that Athens, Corinth, or Argos could display of refined, cultured, witty people—all these choice minds used to meet at these symposia, and the most charming conversation, spiced with games of all societies, was the usual feature. The dancing of the Greeks formed quite a telling feature of their civi-



Ornamental Articles used in Greek Life.

lization. It had very little in common with the exercise which goes by that name in modern times. The fundamental notion of all Greek dancing is the bodily expression of some inward feeling, and that which poetry affected by words, dancing had to do by movement. Dancing

iginally closely connected with religion. Plato[1]
t, that all dancing should be based on religion. Ac-
ly the dances of the chorus at Sparta and in other
tates were intimately connected with the worship
llo. All the religious dances were very simple and
d of gentle movements of the body with various
s and windings around the altar.

e have thus far been considering the unofficial life of
nt Greek; before considering the official life, let us
he absence of private home life. Public life en-
the time and attention of every Grecian to such an
hat private life was, as it were, at the mercy of pub-

Their games, religious exercises, and manner of
vere public. Home life was reduced to a minimum.
nstant association of men with men, mind acting
l, contributed in no small degree to bringing about
e of culture found in ancient Greece.

t us now consider official life in early Greece. As
e normal state in all tribal society, the ultimate
of legislation rested with the people, or, more cor-
with the legitimate assembly of the people, with
lesia. In it, and through it, the sovereign will of
ple of Athens was expressed. Here were brought
hem all matters, which, as the supreme power of
e, they had to order or to dispose of; questions of
l peace, treaties and alliances, levying the troops,
of supplies, religious ordinances, bestowing of citi-
: likewise the election of a great variety of magis-
mbassadors, commissioners, etc.

ciently the people used to assemble once only in
ritany, or ten times a year; afterward, they met
eek. These were called the regular or ordinary

[1] Leg. vii.

assemblies. On what days they were held is not known; the Athenians avoided meeting on holidays or unlucky days. The assembly used anciently to be held in the market-place, Agora.[1] Afterward it was transferred to the theater of Bacchus. But it might be held anywhere, either in the city or in the Piraeus (harbor of Athens), or elsewhere. The assemblies were usually convened by the presidents of the council (senate), who published a notice four days before, specifying the day of meeting and the business to be transacted. All citizens of the age of twenty, who had been duly registered, were entitled to attend and vote.[2]

Before the business of the day commenced, a sacrifice of purification was offered. The lustral victims were young pigs, whose blood was carried round and sprinkled on the seats, while at the same time incense was burned in a censer. The cryer then pronounced a form of prayer and commination, imploring the gods to bless and prosper the consultations of the people, and imprecating a curse upon all enemies and traitors. The chairman then opened the business of the day. If any bill had been prepared by the senate, it was read by the crier or the usher, and the people were asked if it met their approbation. If there was no opposition, it passed.

Any citizen, however, might oppose it, or move an amendment. Every member of the assembly was at liberty to speak, but only once during a debate. According to the institutions of Solon, those who were above fifty years old were first called upon, and afterward the younger men. But this custom fell into disuse.[3] Although al

1 Harpocration, 5, v. Parthemos Aprodite.

2 Demosthenes, c. Neaer p. 1380. In Athens the right of suffrage began at the age of twenty.

3 Demosthenes, De Cor. p. 285. Aristophanes, Acharn. 43.

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citizens had the right of speaking, the privilege was, of course, exercised by a few only, who felt themselves competent for the task; it was not very easy to get up after one of those matchless speeches of orators like Isacus, Lysias, Isocrates, or Demosthenes, and to address the assembly in a befitting way. Whoever rose to speak put on a wreath of myrtle,[1] as a token that he was performing a public duty, and entitled on that account to respect.

It was a breach of decorum to interrupt the speaker. When the debate was ended, the chairman put the question to the vote. The method of voting was either by show of hands (*Cheirotonia*) or by ballot.[2] Show of hands was the most common. When all the business was concluded, the crier by command of the president dismissed the assembly. A decree having been carried by the votes of the people, it was copied on a tablet, and deposited by the secretary among other public records in the temple of Cybele.

The great power of the assembly was held in proper balance by the influence of two other political and judicial institutions of the Athenians; by the Areopagus and the Senate. The areopagus,[3] so called from the Hill of Ares (Mars) where it held its sittings, near the Acropolis, was a judicial and deliberative body greatly esteemed at Athens. It was from time immemorial established as a court of criminal jurisdiction, to try cases of murder, maiming, and arson. It sat in the open air, to escape the pollution of being under the same roof with the guilty. In its proceedings the utmost solemnity was observed. Both parties were sworn to speak the truth, and the facts alone were

[1] Aristophanes, Eccles. 130. 147.

[2] Suidas, 5, v. Katecheirotonesen

[3] The find development of the council of the chiefs of the phratries, See Vol. II. p. 192.

inquired into, without appeals to the feelings or oratorial display. The Areopagus used to be taken from the noble families of Attica. But Solon introduced a new law, that the archons whose official conduct had been approved should be members of this council for life. At the same time he enlarged the power of the council, attaching to it



Gathering of the Areopagus.

political and censorial duties,[1] in order that, together with the council of five hundred (senate), it might act as a check upon the democracy, or to use Solon's own words, that "the state riding upon them (areopagus and senate) as anchors, might be less tossed by storms."

In their censorial character, the areopagites kept watch over the religion and morals of the city, maintained order

[1] Plutarch, Solon, chapter 22. Isocrates, Areip. p. 147.

l decency, looked to the education of the young, inquired
w people got their living, and checked riotous excesses
l debauchery. We read of their entering houses on
st days to see that the guests were not too numerous.
party in Athens consisted of either three persons, in
reement with the number of Graces, or of nine, according
the number of Muses. Any thing above that was con-
lered excessive.

The second great and effective check on the power of
democratical assembly was the senate (boule),[1] or, as
was also called (at a later stage), the council of the five
ndred. This executive and deliberative body managed
rious departments of the public business, more especially
se which related to the public assembly. They were
nually chosen by lot—in Solon's times from the first three
sses only, but afterwards from the whole body of the
ople—with no other restriction than that they must
genuine citizens on both the father's and the mother's
le and of the age of thirty. At the expiration of their
ar of office, they had, like all other functionaries, to render
account of their official conduct to the auditors.

For the more convenient dispatch of business, the
ibes apportioned the year among them, and took the du-
es in rotation. The council was thus divided into ten
odies of fifty men, who were called *Prytanes*, or Presi-
ents, and who for the time represented the whole council.
his term of office was called a *Pritany*. As the lunar
ar at Athens consisted of three hundred and fifty-four
ys, it was so arranged, that there were six prytanies of
irty-five days each, and four of thirty-six. The turns
re determined by lot. The council was to be, according
Solon's design, a sort of directorial committee, to assist

[1] In the first stage, the chiefs of the gentes.

the people in their deliberations and to guide and control their acts in the assembly. It was their duty to discuss beforehand and to prepare in proper form the measures submitted to the people. Besides preparing questions for the assembly, the council had a right to issue ordinances of their own, which, if not set aside by the people, remained in force for the year.[1]

The executive duties of the council were very numerous. The whole financial department of the administration was under their control. The income of the Athenian state ranged between twelve and fifteen hundred talents,[2]



Funeral Customs Among the Greeks.

besides the tributes of dependent states. Taxes were levied, but not regularly. Neither an Athenian nor a Roman had any idea, that the first duty of a law-abiding citizen was to pay taxes. The accounts of the moneys that had been received, and of those still remaining due, were delivered to the senate by the *Apodectae*, or public treasurer. The senate arranged also the application of the public money, even in trifling matters, such as the salary of the poets, the superintendence of the cavalry maintained by the state, and the examination of the infirm supported by the state.

These are the outlines of the Athenian state. We see

[1] Herrmann: "Griechische Staats Alberthümer," ss. 125 *et seq* Boeckh: "Publ. Econ. of Athens," p. 154 *et seq.* [2] $2,000,000.

assembly of all citizens, meeting almost twice every
k, and, apparently at least, determining and ruling
ry thing by a majority vote. But we perceive also
verful checks on the activity of the assembly, namely
areopagus and the boule (senate). In fact the ulti-
te lawgiver in Athens was not to be found in the assem-
. For a bill that had passed the votes of the assembly
s not considered an ultimate law, a *Nomos*, but only a
phisma. It had still to pass the supervision of a board
law-revisers, *Nomothetai*, who were entrusted with the
wer of deciding whether a bill carried in the ecclesia
sembly) was to be considered constitutional, or whether,
account of its divergence from the fundamental laws
Athens, it was to be discarded. In this the nomothetai
Athens exercised a right of negative legislation identi-
l with the right of the supreme courts of the states of the
nited States.[1]

We have now gained an idea of life, both public and
ivate, official and non-official, in Ancient Greece; and
ve pointed out the tendency of the same to active, men-
l life. Hence, at this point, we turn to the consideration
some other department of Greek culture, and there we
d the basis of the great merits of Grecian civilization.
he men and women of Greece have passed away, and
eir political institutions no longer determine the fate
nations. But the achievements of the Greeks in other
lds of mental activity are well-nigh imperishable, and
us they still continue to exercise a strong influence over
e civilization of mankind.

These achievements are in the fields of philosophy,
, and science. Our review of Grecian civilization would
incomplete, were we to neglect the great works of Gre-

[1] *Vide* Vol. II. p. 190

cian writers in these fields. Their philosophy is not, like the systems of the old Egyptians, of the Persians, or of many other nations, alien and strange to our mind; it is not an obsolete product of antiquity, in no connection whatever with our modern line of thought. On the contrary, it is in intimate contact with our latest endeavors to investigate the problems of philosophy; and hundreds of treatises are being published every year, elucidating and commenting on the writings of Greek philosophers.[1]



Greek Art—Vases and Ewers.

The first real philosophers of Greece arose about the beginning of the seventh century B. C., and it is almost generally agreed that Thales was the first in point of time.[2] Thales, together with Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Diogenes of Apollonia, form what is usually called the Ionic school of Greek philosophers. These profound

1 At the twenty-six universities of Germany and Austro-Hungary, there are separate chairs for Greek philosophy, and every year turns out at least fifty new dissertations on Aristotle alone. "Statistik des Deutschen Buchhandels."

2 Zeller: "Die Philos. der Griech," Bd. I. s. 133.

inkers turned their thoughts chiefly to an explanation f the *arche*, the origin of things, and this being their im they speculated principally on the first principle of ature. Hence, (*physis* being nature in Greek), they ere also called Physiologists. It is highly interesting to ollow their peculiar train of ideas.

Thales taught, that the *arche* of all things is to be found in water.[1] In other words, he thought that water was the first principle, the first cause of nature, out of which verything arose. Anaximander taught, that the first principle was an endless, unlimited mass, subject to neither old age nor decay and perpetually yielding fresh materials for the series of beings which issued from it.[2] Out of the vague and limitless body, there sprang a central mass—this earth of ours, cylindrical in shape. Man himself and the animals came into being by transmutations.[3] Man was supposed, by Anaximander, to have sprung from other species of animals, probably aquatic.

Anaximenes taught that the air, with all its variety of contents, its universal presence, was what maintained the universe, even as breath, which is our life and soul, sustains us.[4] Everything is air of different degrees of density. By a process of condensation, brought forth under the influence of heat and cold, the broad disk of earth was formed, floating like a leaf in the circumambient air. Similar condensations produced the sun and the stars.[5] Diogenes of Apollonia adopted the teachings of Anaximenes respecting air as the *arche* of things. But he declared that

[1] Aristotle, Met. i. 3, 983; Cicero, Acad. ii. 37, 118.

[2] Aristotle, Phys. iii. 4, 203, c. 10.

[3] It is more than likely that this doctrine of Anaximander was one of the numerous precursors of Darwin's Theory.

[4] Aristotle, 984 Met. ch. i. 3, a 5.

[5] This seems an anticipation of the celebrated Kant-Laplace theory concerning the origin of our planetary system.

air was not only force, substance, but also intelligence, that it was endowed with consciousness and reason; for without reason, he said, it would be impossible for all to be arranged duly and proportionately.[1]



Hesiod.

After the Physiologists came the Pythagoreans, the head and originator of whom was the celebrated Pythagoras, equally renowned as mathematician, philosopher, physicist, and lawgiver. The central thought of Pythagoras' philosophy is "*the number*."[2] Instead of alleging that this or that material substance was the *arche* of the Universe, Pythagoras taught, that "the number" was the essence, the first principle. Thus he accounted for the origin of the world by placing a formal cause, an ideal conception (the number), in the center of his speculations. "Number," said Philolaus, one of his disciples, "is great and perfect and omnipotent and the principle and guide of divine and human life."

Immediately connected with their central doctrine is the theory of the opposites, held by the Pythagoreans. Numbers are divided into odd and even, and from the combination of odd and even, all numbers and all things seem to result. The odd number was identified with the limited, the even with the unlimited. Following out the

[1] Mullach: Fragm. Philos. Gr. I. 259. When we come to study Hindoo philosophy we will discover the close similarity between the Ionic system of philosophy, and the Vedantic school of Indian philosophy.

[2] Aristotle, Met. i 5.

same thought, they developed a list of ten fundamental opposites, which roughly resembles the tables of "categories" framed by later philosophers. The ten groups of opposites are as follows: Limited and unlimited; the odd and the even; one and the many; right and left; masculine and femenine; rest and motion; straight and crooked; light and darkness; good and evil; square and oblong.[1] Hence the whole universe is harmony, and the regular movements of the heavenly bodies produce the famous harmony of the spheres; the seven planets being considered as the seven golden chords of the heavenly heptachord.[2]

The holy number of the Pythagoreans was four, because it is the first square number; the number five signifies marriage, because it is the union of the first masculine and the first feminine number, namely three plus two; the number one is identified with reason, because it is unchangeable; two with opinion, because it is indeterminate. The most renowned doctrine of Pythagoras, however, is the transmigration of the soul, the Metempsychosis. The bodily life of the soul, according to this doctrine, is an imprisonment suffering for sins committed in a former state of existence. At death, the soul reaps what it has sown in the present life. The reward of the best is to enter the cosmos, or the higher and purer regions of the universe, while the direst crimes receive their punishment in Tartarus. But the general lot is to live afresh in a series of human or animal forms.[3]

Next to Pythagoras and his numerous followers, stands the subtle school of the Eleatic thinkers. Instead of

[1] Ibid. i. 5, 986. [2] Aristotle, De Coele, ii. 9.

[3] Clemens-Strom, iii. 433 A. Plato, Gorg 493 A. Everyone must see the connection between this belief and the Hindoo belief.

attempting the solution of the *arche* problem, they entered upon new lines of thought, and their profound speculations form one of the most striking features of Greek philosophy.[1] Their leading men were Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno.



Euripides

Xenophanes recognized no distinction between truth for the many (exoteric knowledge) and truth for the initiated few (esoteric knowledge), as Pythagoras did; Xenophanes thought and acted as if truth was for all men; for three-quarters of a century he wandered into many lands uttering the thoughts which were working in him. He combated the prevailing belief in many gods chiefly on account of the personification of the gods, and his doctrine was, that "the One was the All,"[2] in other words his doctrine was Pantheism. It was expanded by Parmenides, the most notable of the philosophers of the Eleatic succession.

His doctrine is, that the *Ens*, the Being (*to-on* in Greek), is one, invariable and immutable, and all plurality, variety, and mutation (viz: all the shifting, individual things and persons in existence) belong to the *Non-ens*. Whence it follows, that all the states and processes which we commonly recognize as generation and destruction, change of place, alteration of color, and the like, are little more than empty words.[3] The difference between Parmenides and his predecessors in Greek speculation is this, that he, far from assuming a corporal prin-

[1] The best resume of the Eleatic doctrine is given in Duckring's "Krit. Gesche. d. Phil."

[2] Parmenides [A fragment of his Philos. poem], v. 33.

[3] Cf. the Hindoo doctrine of Illusion.

le (air, water, etc.,) as the *arche* of things, declared corporal things to be mere phantasms, teaching that plurality is but apparent, and that all so-called individual things are merely passing modes of the One Being, *Ens.*[1]

The third great leader of the thinkers of the Eleatic hool was Zeno. In order to render the doctrine of his aster, Parmenides, unassailable, he attempted to prove, at the common notions of time, space, motion, multiicity, sight, sound, etc., are self-contradictory and uninkable. His so-called "paradoxies" were stated with subtlety which has forced distinguished thinkers (for stance Hamilton) who were opposed to his main posion to admit that some of them were unanswerable. gainst motion Zeno directed several arguments, the most lebrated being that of the well-known problem of Achilles d the tortoise.

Next in point of importance as a system of philosophy the profound teachings of Heraclitus of Ephesus. is celebrated thinker used to clothe his ideas in exmely obscure language, and it was this quality which asioned his surname, "the obscure." He tried to get of the difficulty so prominent in the Eleatic philosoy of overcoming the contradiction between the One and phenomenal Many, by enunciating, as the principle of universe, the process of Becoming, implying that rything is and at the same time, and in the same reion. is not. His favorite way of expressing this abuse doctrine was as follows: "Everything is flowing." cordingly he selects fire as the *arche*, this being most appropriate embodiment of the principle of

[1] These speculations form the basis of two of the most important ems of philosophy of modern times, Brunoism and Spinozism.

Becoming, of simultaneous existence and non-existence.[1]

The next great Greek philosopher is Empedocles. He propounded a new doctrine. There are, according to Empedocles, four ultimate kinds of things, four principal divinities, four elements, from which are made all structures in the world—fire, air, water, earth. These four elements are eternally brought into union, and eternally parted from each other, by two divine powers: Love and Hatred—an attractive and a repulsive force, which the ordinary eye can see working amongst men, but which really pervade the whole world. Flesh and blood are made of equal parts of all four elements, whereas bones are one-half fire, one-quarter earth, and one-quarter water. Nothing new comes into being, the only change that can occur is a change in the juxtaposition of element with element.[2]



Aeschylus.

The similarity, or rather identity between modern and ancient Greek thinking is still more striking, when we approach two other schools of Greek philosophy, the Atomists and the Sceptics. The chief of the former was Democritus. The intensity of his thinking was figured by the ancients in the story that he put out his eyes in order that he might not be diver-

[1] The most elaborate treatise on Heraclitus has been written by F. LaSalle, the German Socialist. Zeller's review (in his D. Phil. d. Grich.) is highly valuable. Although he assumes fire as the *archc*, we must not connect him with the Ionic school. He uses it more as a symbol.

[2] Our knowledge of Greek philosophy, anterior to Aristotle, rests largely on the philosophical works of this philosopher; as to Empedocles, see Aristotle, Metph. i. 4.

ed from his meditations. His theory of the universe is o the present the prevailing theory among physicists. He taught, that all that existed is vacuum and atoms. The atoms are the ultimate material of all things, including spirit. They are uncaused and have existed from eternity, and are in constant motion. Democritus reduced all sensation to touch, and all qualities of bodies to these two main qualities, extension and resistance.[1]

The sceptics, or Pyrrhonists, bear a still greater resemblance to modern thought. Pyrrho, their founder, asked, what is the criterion of our opinion? Reason, it is said. But what is the criterion of Reason, he again asked? And, as he could find no adequate answer, he simply inferred, that all philosophy and all science is groundless, there being no general criterion of Truth.[2] All these philosophers (with the exception of Pyrrho) lived before Socrates, and they are to be considered as the precursors of the most perfect development of Greek philosophy, as represented in the teachings[3] of Socrates, and in the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

Socrates, born in Athens in 470 or 469 B. C., embraced the whole of philosophy (Ontology, Logic, Metaphysics, Psycology) with a new spirit, the spirit of self-conscious truth. The skeptical movement had confused men's notions as to the value of ethical ideas. If "right" be one thing in Athens and another at Sparta, why strive o follow right rather than expediency? Every case seemed capable of being argued in opposite ways. Even on the great question of the ultimate constitution of things, he conflicting theories of absolute immutability (Parmeni-

[1] Aristotle, De gen. et corrupt. i. 8. [2] D. Phil. d. III. Bd.

[3] Socrates has left us no writings of his own; our information about him we take from Plato and Xenophon.

des) and eternal change (Heraclitus) appeared to be equally creditable. But the faith of Socrates remained unshaken by these conflicting views. He did not ask: "Is virtue a reality?" or "Is goodness a delusion?" But with perfect confidence that there was an answer, he asked himself and others, "What is it?" or, more particularly, as Xenophon testifies, "What is a state? What is a statesman? What is just? What is unjust? etc." In this form of question, however simple, the originality of Socrates is typified; and by means of it he laid the first stone, not only of the fabric of ethical philosophy, but of scientific method. The secret of his success lay in the combination of a deep sense of human ignorance with a confidence not less deep in the power of reason. He taught, that human life and experience are the sphere of search: truth and good, regarded as identical, the end of it: universality, the test of reality, conversation the method, rational thought the means—these are the chief notes of the dialectics of Socrates.

Applying the native strength of his intelligence directly to the facts of life, he revealed their significance in countless ways, by unthought-of generalization, by strange analogies, combining what men had not combined, distinguishing what they had not distinguished—but always with the single aim of rousing them to the search after eternal truth and good. But all this equanimity, virtue, and genius could not save him from the ill-will of his countrymen, whose anger was roused by a few of his personal enemies. The great philosopher was indicted for atheism and contempt of the gods, and sentenced to the hemlock-cup. He suffered death with perfect composure of mind, sealing the tenor and activity of all his life with a glorious submission to the dictations of his fellow-citi-

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

s and the doctrines of his own profound mind.[1]
This lifelong work of Socrates, in which the germ of later philosophy was contained, was idealized, devel-d, dramatised, first embodied, and then extended be-d the original scope, in the writings of Plato, which y be described as the literary outcome of the profound ression made by Socrates upon his greatest follower. se writings (in pursuance of the importance given by rates to conversation) are all cast in the form of imag-y dialogues. The Platonic dialogues are not merely embodiment of the mind of Socrates and of the reflec-s of Plato. They are the portraits of the highest in-ectual life of Hellas in the time of Plato—a life but dis-ly related to military and political events, and scarcely rrupted by them. It is, of course, next to impossible elineate the leading principles of Plato within the ex-nely limited space we can devote to a consideration of philosophy. But we can not omit adducing some of main ideas of his system, especially those that have historical bearing on the course of civilization.

For very few thinkers have exercised such a vast influ-e on the thoughts of mankind as Plato. In fact, his uence is almost equal to that of Aristotle. Many ools were formed in Asia,[2] Africa,[3] and Europe, in ch the thoughts of Plato were made the subject matter rofound study, and scarcely a treatise on philosophy r made its appearance without showing the unmistaka-traces of the Platonic philosophy. Plato was the first

[1] A whole literature treats of the sentence and death of Socrates; some great authorities lean toward the opinion, that Socrates could easily escaped the fatal sentence but for his high sense of obedi-. See a very able discussion in Zeller.

[2] Not only in the time of the Greeks and the Byzantine empire, but e time of the Saracens as well.

[3] Neo-Platonists in Alexandria.

to establish that fundamental distinction between the abstract and the concrete, between the rational and the empirical, between the *a priori* and the *a posteriori*, which, to the present day, pervades the whole of philosophy, and without which no philosophical thinking is deemed possible. This distinction reappears in that other fundamental division of philosophical subjects, in the division of things into universal and particular.

Plato declared that philosophy is the study of the abstract, of the *a priori*, of the universal. This is one of the pivots of his system. The particular, the empirical, the *a posteriori*, belong to the practical knowledge of the ordinary mind; it has nothing to do with the investigations of the philosopher. But this was not sufficient. Plato not only excluded the empirical, he pointed out, in a distinct and clear way, what were the proper subjects of real philosophy. He taught, that previous to all experience, and underlying it, there are innate conceptions, notions born with the mind, in one word, *Ideas*, the study of which forms the chief object of the philosopher.

These ideas (*ideai* in Greek) are divine models, eternal types of the objects in nature, and the principles of our knowledge. By propounding this theory and by his endeavor to apply it to all branches of science, to natural philosophy as well as to politics and ethics, Plato became the founder of "Idealism," that is to say, he is to be considered the founder of that truly philosophical tendency of confining our thoughts to the ideal aspect of things. He openly taught, that there is but one God, the creator of this world, the preserver of it, who governs it with providential care.[1] Virtue is the attempt at an imitation

[1] The Monotheistic tendencies in Plato are evident in every line of "Timaeus." The most comprehensive work on Plato and his philosophy is by Grote.

d, and consists of four elements, of *Sophia* (wisdom), *dreia* (consistency), of *Sophrosyne* (temperance), and *caiosyne* (justice). Politics is the application of the law of morals, the state being a union of a mass of e under the same law. Its object is liberty and har-. Beauty is the preceptible representation of moral hysical perfection. Being one and the same with and with "the good," it inspires *Eros* (Platonic love) leads to virtue.

he greatest of all Greek philosophers was Aristotle, sciple of Plato. He was born in 384 B. C., at Sta- Macedonia, and this circumstance gave rise to his ne, the Stagirite. His works cover the whole ground h philosophy and science. ler to illustrate his merits, ll select his works on Logic. atter of the "Prior Analyt- as become the common ty of all modern books on and what he wrote upon the ism, the mode of inference, arcely been altered. Both and Hegel, two of the st of German thinkers and rs, acknowledge, that from the time of Aristotle to wn age (nineteen centuries), logic made no prog- His was the proud distinction of having discovered lly drawn out the laws under which the mind acts uctive reasoning. That in deduction the mind pro- from some universal proposition, and how it pro- these were amongst the most important things which tle had to tell the world.



Sophocles.

e have now begun to exhaust the list of Greek

philosophers, we have, however, only space to name some of the great leaders and founders of schools of philosophy in post-Aristotelian times. Foremost in the ranks of these was Epicurus, born 341 B. C. The scene of his philosophic life and teaching was a garden in Athens which he bought at the cost of about eighty minæ.[1] There he passed his days as the loved and venerated head of a remarkable society, such as the ancient world had never seen. The mode of life in this community was plain. The general drink was water, and the food barley bread; half a pint of wine was considered an ample allowance. The company was held in unity by the fascinating charms of Epicurus' personality, and by the free sociality which he inculcated and exemplified.


Aristophanes.

All that exists, says Epicurus, is corporal; the intangible is non-existent, or empty space. If a thing exists, it must be felt; and to be felt, it must exert resistance. But all things are not intangible, which our senses are not able to detect. The fundamental postulates of Epicureanism are atoms and the void. This universe of ours is only one section out of the innumerable worlds in infinite space; other worlds may present systems very different from the arrangement of sun, moon, and stars, which we see in this. In the sphere of human action Epicurus would allow of no absolutely controlling necessity. There is much in our circumstances that springs from mere chance, but it does not over-master man. With a latent optimism he asserts

[1] $1500.

at, though there are evils in the world, still their domi-tion is brief at their height, and there are many consol-g circumstances while, on the other hand, it is easy to ain the maximum of pleasure.[1]

Toward the close of the fourth century B. C., another



Death of Socrates.

ool of Greek philosophy was founded by Zeno of tium. The disciples of this school were named Stoics, m the *Stoa*, or painted corridor on the north side of the

[1] *Vide* Gassendi's works on Epicurus and Steinthal's article in ch., Gruber.

market-place at Athens, where its chief members were delivering lectures on the problems of philosophy. But, though it arose on Hellenic soil, the school is scarcely to be considered a product of purely Greek intellect, but rather as the first-fruits of that inter-action between the West and the East which followed the conquests of Alexander the Great. Hardly a single stoic of eminence was a citizen of a city in the heart of Greece, unless we except Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes of Assus, and Panaetius of Rhodes. Nor did Stoicism achieve its crowning triumph until it was brought to Rome, where the grave earnestness of the national character appreciated its doctrines. For two centuries or more, it was the creed, if not the philosophy, of all the best of the Romans.



Aristotle.

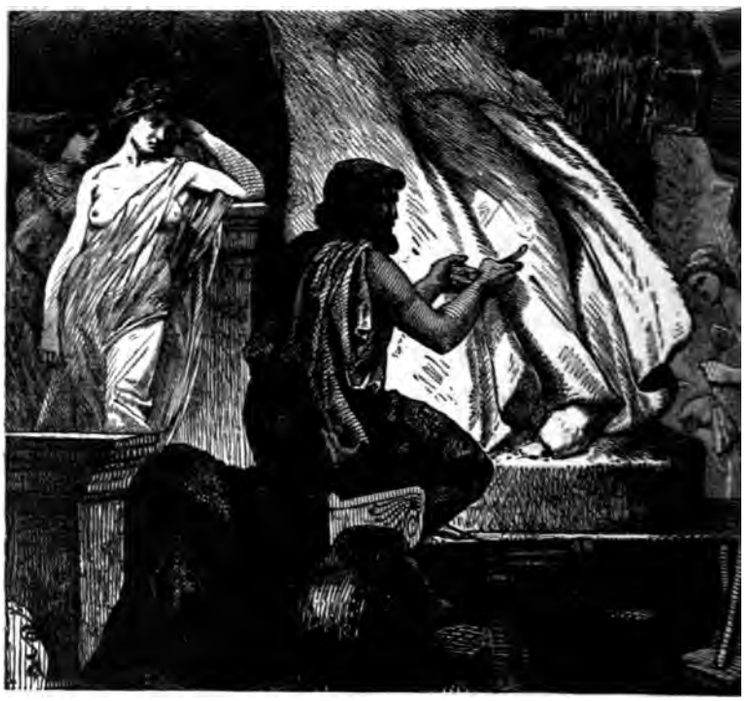
One of the grandest of the stoics was Chrysippus, who lived from 280 to 206 B. C. He was the author of a great number of works, of which, however, but small fragments have come down to us. He taught that, as the sole aim of philosophy is to discover man's duty, ethics is the only science that is of real importance in itself, while physics (*i. e.* the study of nature) is to be regarded merely as an aid to this study. The explanation of the universe

dopted by Chrysippus is that of the stoics in general. The eal is the corporal; man and the world are all that ex- t. In each there is that which is inert, and also the nforming soul, or vivifying fire. The soul of the universe s God, or destiny. Each human soul is part of the uni- ersal soul, in which the souls of all, except the wise, are gain swallowed up at death. The universe is perfect. So-called physical evil there is none. Moral evil is the necessary complement of good, and is turned by Provi- dence into good. All is the result of perfect law. Per- fect unanimity of life can only be achieved through the unrestricted dominion of right reason, that is, by our rea- son not only ruling unconditionally over our other energies and circumstances, but also coinciding with the Universal Reason—the reason which governs nature.[1]

The achievements of the Greeks in the field of phi- losophy were equalled, if not excelled, by their productions of a strictly scientific character. In fact, the Greeks must be considered as the real originators of modern, as well as of all science. They were the first to reduce a mass of observed facts to a coherent, lucid, and well arranged system of science. Their power of generalization and an innate delicate perception of fitness kept them free from the wild plays of imagination, in which, amongst others, the Indian masters of science used to indulge. To the present day, we have no better examples of scientific reasoning than Euclid's works, or the writings of Archimedes and Ptol- emy. They continue to form the foundation of our stud- ies, and all modern trials to supersede them have proved abortive.

[1] The sources of Stoicism are the seventh book of Diogenes' Laer- tius, the philosophical books of Cicero [especially De Finibus] Stobæus and Plutarch. The most exhaustive modern treatise is that by Zeller.

The scientific achievements of the Greeks are chie concerned with mathematics (arithmetic as well as geo etry); mechanics, astronomy, geography, and medicin They founded both elementary arithmetic and the mo important portions of plain and solid geometry. In chanics, they laid the foundations of statics and hy mechanics. In astronomy, they discovered some o



Greek Art—Phidias in his Studio.

most important and fundamental laws of the heave bodies. Pythagoras as well as Philolaus and Nicetas Syracuse taught, that the earth is a planet revolv around the sun. Copernicus himself confesses his gr obligation to the Pythagoreans.[1]

[1] In the preface of his work: "De Revolutionibus Orbium Coel tum."

ristarchus of Samos, who left us a very valuable se on the magnitudes and distances of the sun and , measured the diameter of the sun, and his results ot differ very much from the calculations of modern onomers. Eratosthenes determined the magnitude of earth by a most ingenious method, and Hipparchus[1] ed the most essential discovery—the precession of the inoxes. Hipparchus, furthermore, discovered the ec- ricity of the solar orbit. He accounted for the ap- nt inequality of the sun's motion by supposing that earth is not placed exactly at the center of the circu- rbit of the sun, and that, consequently, his distance the earth is subject to variations. When the sun is s greatest distance, he appears to move more slowly, when he approaches nearer, his motion becomes more . The attention of that astronomer was also di- to the motion of the and, on this subject his ches were attended with success. From the com- n of a great number of most circumstantial and te observation of eclipses ed by the Chaldeans, he nabled to determine the of the moon's revolu-



Hippocrates

latively to the stars, to the sun, to her nodes, and apogee. These determinations are among the most le results of ancient astronomy, since they corrobo-

[1] the life of this, the greatest of all Greek astronomers, we know r little. Suidas, the lexicographer, placed him at from B. C. 160 ut without naming these epochs as those of his birth and death.

rate one of the finest theoretical deductions—the acceleration of the mean lunar motion—and thus furnish one of the most delicate tests of the truth of Newton's law of gravitation. Hipparchus, likewise, approximated to the parallax of the moon. Besides he drew up a catalogue of ten hundred and eighty fixed stars.

In the 130th year of our era, Ptolemy, the prince of astronomers, as he was called, flourished in Alexandria, a man who did inestimable service to astronomy. Although his system of astronomy has been supplanted by the system of Copernicus, his merits, nevertheless, entitle him to the esteem and admiration of mankind. His works are a perfect treasury of astronomical dates



Fifty-oared Greek Boat.

and theories; and all civilized nations took their first information on astronomy from the "Almagest" of Ptolemy.[1] If we were to characterize the scientific labors of the Greeks in the shortest and still most effective manner, we would sum up all points into the one remark, that the Greeks pre-eminently possessed the rare power of generalization, the ability to rise above the immediate wants of practical life, and to soar to the abstract relation of ideas.

It is strange that the Greeks did not invent the se-

[1] The original Greek name of Ptolemy's work was Syntaxis or Megas Astronomos (the Great Astronomer). To designate this valuable work, the Arabs used the superlative "Megiste" (Greatest), to which the Arabian article 'al' being prefixed, the hybrid name Almagest, by which it is now universally known, is derived.

lled Arabian (properly speaking Indian) way of denoting mbers. They used the letters of the alphabet, as did e Hebrews and other Semites, and this extremely clumsy ıy of figuring formed a check on the free development of ecian arithmetic. Some of the simplest problems of ithmetic (especially those where fractions come into ay) become, in Greek letter-denotation, so complicated at, amongst others, some of the arithmetical writings of chimedes, wherein he used letters instead of digits, are nost unintelligible. The Greeks had a decided bent for



Greek Art—Hector Taking Leave of Andromache.

ometrical investigations, in preference to arithmetical es. Their geometry remained a model presentation of ometrical truths for twenty centuries, and, in all likeli- od, will never be surpassed.[1]

We are now to approach one of the most attractive

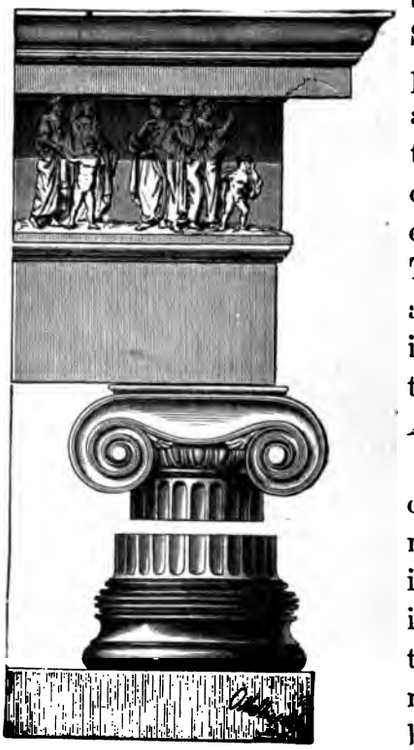
[1] Modern Geometricians (especially Steiner, Plücker, Grassman), al- st unanimously concede the greater perfection of form and system in ek geometry.

'e refer to the temple.[1] It stands usually on a height, lled the Acropolis, on a substructure of rocks, as at Syra-se; or on a small eminence which, as at Athens, was e first place of refuge and the original site of the city. is visible from every point on the plain and from the eighboring hills; vessels greet it at a distance on ap-roaching the port. It stands out in a clear and bold lief in the limpid atmosphere.[2] It is not like our me-ieval cathedrals, crowded and smothered by rows of ouses, secreted, half concealed, inaccessible to the eye ave in its details and its upper section. Its base, sides, ntire mass, and full proportions appear at a glance. We re not obliged to divine the whole from a part.

In order that the impression may be clear and dis-inct, they give it medium or small dimensions, that bear o resemblance to the vast monuments of India, Baby-on, or Egypt; the storied and crowded palaces, the masses of avenues, enclosures, halls, and colossi, so numerous that the mind at last becomes disturbed and be-wildered. On the contrary, the Greek temple is so simple that a glance suffices to comprehend the whole. The edifice has nothing complicated, quaint, or elaborate about it. It is a rectangle, bordered by a *peristyle* (range) of columns; three or four of the elementary forms of geom-try suffice for the whole. The crowning of the pediment, he fluting of the pillars, the abacus of the capital—all he accessories and all details—contribute yet more to how in stronger relief the special character of each mem-er; while the diversity of colors serves to mark and de-ne their respective value.

[1] For a description of the architectural beauties of a Greek temple, e follow mainly the accurate and well expressed statements in Taine: L'Art en Grèce. [2] See the restoration, accompanied with essays, y Texier, Paccard, Boitte, and Garnier.

In other respects, Greek art was equally excellent. A school of sculptors in marble existed in Chios as early as 660 B. C., and there also Glaucus is said to have discovered the art of welding iron. as to the remains of Greek sculpture, which may with more or less certainty, be assigned to the period in which Glaucus, Dipoenus, Scyllis, and other noted sculptors were at work, there are the metopes from some of the most celebrated temples in the island of Sicily, which up to the present have been regarded as furnishing the first authentic, and as yet, the clearest glimpses of that early stage of Greek art. There are also some other authentic remains, especially the sculptures from the temple of Athene at Aegina, now in Munich.



Ionic Column.

Greek painting, or rather coloring, as it would be more properly described in its earliest phase, in which it was entirely subservient to architecture and ceramography, is said to have been first elevated to an art by Cleanthes of Corinth,[1] who introduced the drawing of figures in outline; by Telephares of Sicyon,[2] who improved on this by indicating the principal details of anatomy; and Eumaras of

[1] Pliny: "Historia Naturalis," xxxv. 5. [2] Ibid.

hens, who is said to have first distinguished in his intings men from women, probably by the means adopd in the early vases, that is, by painting the flesh whitethe case of women. Like their followers down to the ne of Apelles, these painters used only the simple colors, hite, yellow, red, and bluish black, greater attention being id to the drawing than to the coloring.

In temple architecture, the principles of both the oric and Ionic orders were already fully established; e latter in Asia Minor, and the former in Greece proper.



Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

mong the remains of Doric architecture assignable to is period, are, amongst others, the two temples of Paesm. Of the Ionic order during this period (the sixth ntury), the principal example was the temple of Diana Ephesus, the construction of which, begun by Theoorus of Samos, was carried on by Chersyphron of Crete d his son Metagenes, and completed by Demetrius and

Paeonius about the time of Crœsus. It is said that from first to last, one hundred and twenty years were consumed on the work. This temple having been burned by Herostratus was restored under the directions of Alexander's architect, Dinocrates.

We have reached the time of Phidias, and have now done with imperfections in sculpture, so far at least as they originated in want of knowledge either of the human form or of technical means. Phidias, the son of Charmides, was an Athenian, and must have been born about 500 B. C. When Pericles succeeded to the administration of affairs, and it was determined to erect new temples and other public buildings worthy of the new glory which Athens had acquired in the Persian wars, it was to Phidias that the supervision of all these works was entrusted, aided by an army of artists and skilled workmen. By 438 B. C., the Parthenon was completed, with its colossal statue of Athene, in gold and ivory, by Phidias himself, and with its vast extent of sculpture in marble, executed at least under his direction, and reflecting in most parts his genius. After the completion of the Parthenon, Phidias accepted the invitation of the people of Elis to exert his highest power in fashioning for their temple of Zeus at Olympia a statue worthy of the majesty and grandeur of the supreme god of Greece.

His workshop was near the Altis, or sacred grove, where through successive centuries down to the second century of our era, it was preserved and pointed out with feelings of reverence. The finished work was over forty feet high, and represented the god seated on his throne. On his head was a wreath of olive. The drapery was of gold, richly worked with flowers and figures in enamel. On the footstool was inscribed the verse: "Phidias, the

f Charmides, an
nian, has made
The throne was
ly of ebony and
, inlaid with pre-
stones, and rich-
ulptured with re-
, and in parts
ted.
ll Greece made a
rimage to this
velous statue and
y one who had
it was pronoun-
happy. Most af-
ingly is the unsur-
able character of
work expressed
hat beautiful le-
d, which tells how
Phidias, after
completion of his
ue, when he stood
ghtfully contem-
ing his work,
ed his hands in
er to Jupiter, and



Pallas Athene, after Phidias.

lored a token whether his work was well pleasing to god. Then suddenly, through an opening in the roof, ghtning flash glanced from the sky upon the temple , as an unmistakable sign of the perfect satisfaction of Thunderer.[1] We possess, in the sculptures of the

[1] Pausanius, Descr. Gr. v. 10.

Parthenon, a large series of works in marble, at least de signed or modeled by Phidias and executed under his im mediate care, if not in many cases finished by his own hands.



Olympian Zeus, after Phidias.

The mantle of Phidias fell on his pupil, Alcamenes an Athenian, the lofty conception in his figures of deities was highly praised, while in point of gracefulness in womanly form he appears to have excelled his master. His most celebrated work was a statue of Aphrodite for her temple, of which, however, the merit of the last touch was ascribed to Phidias. Her cheeks, hands, and figure

specially admired; but as to the attitude and general
t we have no information, and are not justified in ac-
ng the Aphrodite of Mino in the Louvre at Paris as
ɔy of it, much less as the original work.

Amongst the painters of this period, Polygnotus de-
es particular notice. He found favor with Cimon, to
se zeal the new impulse for the improvement of Athens
due, and was employed to execute wall paintings for
Stoa Poecile, the Theseum, and the Anaceum, or tem-
f the Dioscuri. For his services, and especially for
lisinterestedness of his character, Polygnotus received
was then regarded as the highest distinction—the
lom of the city of Athens. As regards the style of
gnotus, we have the distinction drawn by Arisotle
een it and that of Zeuxis (another celebrated Greek
ter), a distinction which he expressed by the words
and *pathos*. By ethos, as applied to the paintings of
gnotus, we understand a dignified bearing in his fig-
and a measured movement throughout his composi-
s, such as the Parthenon frieze presents, compared
the pathetic rendering of scenes in the frieze from the
le of Apollo at Phigalea, or in the frieze of the Mau-
um of Halicarnassus. The sculptures of the latter
ument were made by Scopas, a native of Paros, who
ed in Athens about 380 B. C., where for thirty years he
ntained a reputation for an unparalleled power of ren-
ng the human or divine figure, especially in a state of
ed feeling. When considerably advanced in years, he
invited by Artemisia, the queen of Caria, to direct
sculptors for a monument that she was erecting at
carnassus in memory of her husband Mausolus.[1] The

[1] Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. iii. 31; Strabo, Geog. xiv.; Pliny, Hist.
xxv.

site of the Mausoleum, one of the seven wonders of antiquity, was discovered and excavated by C. T. Newton in 1856-7, the result being the recovery of an important part of these celebrated sculptures.

More celebrated still than Scopas was Praxiteles. The scene of his labors was mostly Athens and the neighboring towns. His model was Phryne, the courtezan. Like Scopas he had little taste for bronze in comparison



Greek Art—Fight of Achilles.

with marble, with its surface finely sensitive to the most delicate modulation. Unsatisfied with even this, he endeavored to soften the asperity of the marble in the crude parts by a process of encaustic. That he was peculiar in thus tinting the marble and an exception among other Greek sculptors can not be meant in the face of so many instances of coloring in the remains of Greek sculpture and architecture. Of his works, the number of which was unusually large, the most celebrated were the following

es: The marble statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus, a statue Aphrodite at Thespiae, a statue of Phryne, and a statue Eros.

In painting, a great step in advance was made by uxis and Parrhasius of Ephesus. An interesting tale scribes their contests. Once Zeuxis painted some grapes perfectly that birds came to pick at them. He then led on Parrhasius to draw aside the curtain and show picture; but, finding that his rival's picture was the rtain itself he acknowledged himself to be surpassed, Zeuxis had deceived birds, but Parrhasius had deceived uxis.[1] The next great painter was Timanthes. But is Apelles, in whose person were combined, if we y judge from his reputation, all the best qualities of the herto existing schools of painting. The best part of life of Apelles was probably spent at the court of ilip and Alexander the Great. Many anecdotes are pre-ved of Apelles and his contemporaries, which throw an eresting light both on his personal and his professional aracter. He was ready to acknowledge that in some ints he was excelled by other artists, as by Amphion d by Asclepiodorus in perspective. He first caused the rits of Protegenes to be understood.

By the general consent of ancient authors, Apelles nds first among Greek painters. To the indiscrimina-g admiration of Pliny, we may add the unmeasured aise which Cicero, Varro, Ovid, and other writers give the work of Apelles and especially to his Venus Ana-omene.[2] Apelles is said to have made great improve-nts in the mechanical part of his art. His principal

[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxv. 9. 36, 3.
[2] Cicero, Brutus 18, de Orat. iii. 7; Varro, de Lingue, Lat. ix. 12; d, Art Amandi, iii. 401.

discovery was that of covering the picture with a thin black varnish, which, besides preserving the pict made the tints clearer and subdued the more brill colors. That he painted on moveable panels is evi from the frequent mention of *tabulae* with referenc his pictures. Pliny expressly says, that he did not p on walls.[1]



Greek Art—Capture of Helen.

We have now made a short study of Grecian C zation. We have seen how, owing to their contracted and their mode of life, the mental activity of the Gr was wrought up to a high pitch; and we have traced results of this in the fields of philosophy, science, and Taking a general view of this whole matter, regar Greece as simply the first point where Aryan civiliz

[1] Hist. Nat. xxxv. 37.

e to its fruitage, we are now to turn to the study of
ıan Civilization. And here we are to notice that the
es of Aryan culture are swinging in a greatly wider
e than in Greece. This is but a prophesy of the time
ı all Aryan Europe was to glow refulgent with the
first focussed in Ancient Hellas.



Bacchus.

CHAPTER VII.

ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

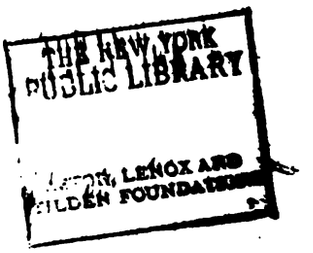
INFLUENCE of the City of Rome—First History of Rome—Description of Rome—The Houses—The Fora—Slavery in Ancient Rome—Different Classes of Slaves—Treatment of Slaves—Manumission of Slaves—The House Sons—House Daughters—Marriage in Ancient Rome—The Status of Married Women—Ceremonies of Marriage—Education in Rome—Compared with Greek Education—Public Life in Rome—Public Games—Races—Gladiatorial Games—The Coliseum—The Gladiators—Influence of these Games on the People—The "Ludi Magni"—Public Baths—Meals and Foods of the Romans—Use of Wine in Rome—The Dress of Romans—The Toga—The Tunica—Special Articles of Dress—Female Dress—Roman Literature—Cicero—Tacitus—Finances in Rome—Taxes—Commerce—The Government in Ancient Rome—Normal Development of Tribal Government—Roman Civil Law—The Vast Influence on Our Civilization—Conclusion.



OUR delineation of Grecian Civilization, we dwelt, to a considerable extent, on the general fact, that it developed in cities; and thus we reduced quite a number of the most important features of that civilization to one far-reaching cause. This feature of city life is not peculiar to Grecian civilization. It applies in a still greater degree to the civilization of Rome. For, though in Greece civilization radiated from cities, there were many such centers distributed over the mother country and Asia Minor, the southern part of Italy and Sicily.

As a rule, Athens is considered the head and the

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der of Grecian civilization, but this holds good only h respect to a few departments of the mental develop- nt of Greece; and, even here, the cities of Sicily and ia Minor contributed considerable, and so, to the great me of Athens, we have to add those of Crotona, Elea, racuse, Halicarnassus, etc Thus Greece displays the ectacle of a de-centralized mental development. This -centralization was carried to a still greater extent in the litical life of the Greeks.

With regard to Rome, however, there was no r de-centralization. Rome was the exclusive cen man civilization. Neither the political, the intellect r the moral life of the Roman Empire had its r e ere than in Rome. It was from Rome, that all fi ns and activities of the vast empire radiated. T man jurists were educated in the city of Ro ght have been Phoenicians, like Ulpian; or Gre l jus: but their development as jurists was completed in me. It was likewise there, that the great generals and es of Rome found their instruction, their object, and ir success. This one city decided the affairs of Italy, in, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Mace- nia. Political success was sought for in this city; thus, en Cicero wished to be consul, his brother Quintus ad- sed him to gain first the votes of the city of Rome, for, comparison with these votes, the balance of the Italian es would scarcely count.

That the civilization of a vast empire should be, as it re, dependent on one city is one of the most singular ts in history. There have been large cities, possessing llions of inhabitants, cities commanding great influence r the destinies of countries; but the influence of vast ies, like Babylon or Nineveh, London, Paris, or Berlin,



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form a clear picture of Roman civilization, we will be-
n with the description of the city, of street life, and
public and private life in Rome. Accordingly we
ill imagine a visit to Rome in the second century B. C.,
hen the Republican institutions were not yet destroyed,
nd the institutions of the Regal period were still more or
ss active. It is a mistake to suppose that the institu-
ons of the Regal period differed essentially from those of
e Republic.[1] In every respect, these two periods were,
one and the same cast and tenor, save that the life-
ngs of the first period were replaced by the year-kings
the second. Even the city of Rome herself did not
pear much different in the second century B. C., than
c did in the times of the kings.

The oldest part of the city was called Roma Quadrata;
d in the second century B. C., as well as now, the huge
alls, attributed by tradition to king Servius, were ex-
nt. The streets of the city, with the exception of two,
ere narrow and short. The pavement was a privilege of
ery few streets. Houses were divided into two classes.
he regular private house of a wealthy Roman citizen was
alled *domus*. It consisted of a one-storied building, with
flight of three or four large halls opening into one
nother. The first of these halls was called the *atrium*.
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as called the *perystylium*. The domestic life of a Roman
ouse centered in the atrium. It was there, where the
mily took their meals, where they sacrificed to the gods,
here the family council was held, and where the matron
the house cooked the meals. In addition to these three
rge halls, there were small compartments for the slaves
the house, for the children, and for bed-rooms. A Ro-

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 34.

is far from being an exclusive one. In addition to these large cities, there are others which exercise similar influence and prevent the civilization of those countries from depending exclusively on the development of one single point.

The city of Rome is situated on the Tiber. At the time when the seat of Rome was building, there were many other small cities in Italy, which belonged to the Etruscans and the various Aryan tribes of the peninsula.[1] These cities were really each the headquarters of a tribe, and consequently, as a rule, they were independent of one another. Inter-tribal wars were, of course, frequent, but in spite of their feuds, they had many things in common. Thus, in the first place, their language, with the exception of the Etruscans, evidently pointed to a common origin. Their religious rites were more or less the same. Their social and political institutions show a general resemblance; and thus we are enabled to explain many of the Roman institutions by some hints, and remnants found in the districts of the Umbrians and Oscans.

We have had occasion to point out that almost nothing is known of the early history of Rome. The mass of fables on which it rested has been swept away before the destructive criticism of modern scholars.[2] This, however, will not prevent us from a description of the political and social institutions of Rome in the Regal period, as well as in the first part of the Republican times, because those criticisms are directed more against the chronology of battles and similar military affairs, than against those quiet and peaceful institutions, the contemplation of which forms the prominent part of a history of civilization. In order

[1] Above page 268.

[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 195 *et seq.*; This Vol. p. 274 *et seq.*

to form a clear picture of Roman civilization, we will begin with the description of the city, of street life, and of public and private life in Rome. Accordingly we will imagine a visit to Rome in the second century B. C., when the Republican institutions were not yet destroyed, and the institutions of the Regal period were still more or less active. It is a mistake to suppose that the institutions of the Regal period differed essentially from those of the Republic.[1] In every respect, these two periods were, of one and the same cast and tenor, save that the life-kings of the first period were replaced by the year-kings of the second. Even the city of Rome herself did not appear much different in the second century B. C., than she did in the times of the kings.

The oldest part of the city was called Roma Quadrata; and in the second century B. C., as well as now, the huge walls, attributed by tradition to king Servius, were extant. The streets of the city, with the exception of two, were narrow and short. The pavement was a privilege of very few streets. Houses were divided into two classes. The regular private house of a wealthy Roman citizen was called *domus*. It consisted of a one-storied building, with a flight of three or four large halls opening into one another. The first of these halls was called the *atrium*. The adjoining hall was called the *tablinum*, and the third was called the *perystylium*. The domestic life of a Roman house centered in the atrium. It was there, where the family took their meals, where they sacrificed to the gods, where the family council was held, and where the matron of the house cooked the meals. In addition to these three large halls, there were small compartments for the slaves of the house, for the children, and for bed-rooms. A Ro-

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 304.

man private house had no windows facing the street. They had only sky-light arrangements, so that the house resembled a castle more than a private residence.

The number of houses of this kind, in the times of Augustus, is given as seventeen hundred and eighty. The



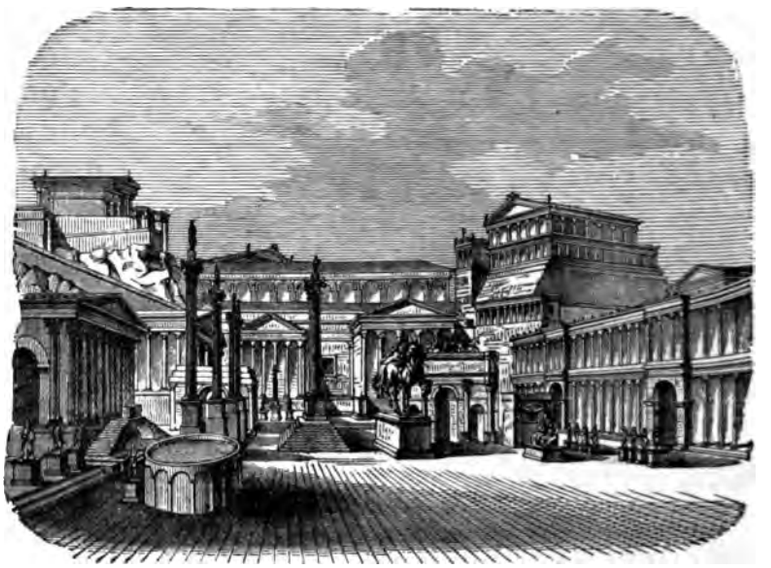
Entrance to a Roman House.

second kind of house was the so-called *Insula*, which is identical with our tenement house. There were about forty-four thousand in the time of Emperor Augustus. They had several stories and hundreds of persons were living in them. The real estate business in Rome was conducted on a very large scale, and millionaire Crassus

ined most of his fortune in *insula* speculations. In ite of the narrow streets, there were, comparatively eaking, few cases of house-burning; and this fact may accounted for by the circumstance that tenement houses re perfect blocks, apart from one another, so that small es separated them, and danger from spreading fire was reby lessened. In the streets, no carriages were to be n, with the exception of those of high dignitaries, or of blic conveyances for city purposes, before four o'clock in afternoon. Private conveyances were not permitted to ve in the streets of Rome before that hour. The carges afforded a very interesting show for the lover of rt. They were two-wheeled, three-wheeled, and four-eeled; and the horses were of the very best race, hav- been imported from the most beautiful breeds of midia and Arabia.

Early in the morning, the life of the city began its urse. There were several large market halls, one for rk, another for sweets, a third for meats of all kinds; d these market-halls were under the strict surveillance the *Aediles*. These market-places were called *Fora*. t the most important forum in Rome was the one that s properly called "the Forum." It was situated between Palatine and Capatoline hills, and its extent was en *jugera*. It was originally a swamp or marsh, but s said to have been filled up by Romulus and Tatius, l to have been set apart for a place of administration justice, for the assemblies of the people, and for the nsaction of other kinds of public business. In its widest se, the Forum included the *comitium*, or the place of embly for the *Curiae*, which was separated from the um, in its narrower sense, or the place of assembly for *Comitia Tributa* by the *Rostra*.

These rostra were elevated places of ground, from which on a stage, the orators addresssed the people. They derived their name from the fact that after the subjugation of Latium their sides were adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of the ships of the Antiates. The orators addressed the people from the rostra, and from thence the tribunes of the people, in the early times of the Republic, used to confront the comitia and the curiae. In 300 B. C., the



The Forum.

Romans adorned the Forum with gilt shields, which they had taken from the Samnites; and, subsequently, this custom of adorning the Forum was observed during the time of the public Roman games, when the magistrates rode in their chariots in procession around the Forum. After the victory of Duillius over the Carthagenians, the Forum was adorned with the celebrated *Columna Rostrata*. In the principal part of the Comitium the laws of the twelve tablets were exhibited for public inspection. Besides the

ordinary business which was carried on in the Forum, we read that gladiatorial games were held there, and that there prisoners of war and faithless colonists were put to death.

The second forum was built by Julius Cæsar, and was called Forum Julii. The leveling of the ground alone cost him about a million of *sesterces*, and he adorned it besides with a magnificent temple of Venus Genitrix. A third forum was built by Augustus, and called Forum Augustium, because the two existing ones were not found sufficient for the great increase of business which had taken place. Augustus adorned his forum with a temple of Mars and the statues of the most distinguished men of the Republic.

Besides these fora, were the numerous temples in Rome dedicated to the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, and even to the gods and deities of foreign nations. The distinctive feature of a Roman temple was, that it was considered the abode of the god and not the place of devotion. The people never thought of going to church as we do. The temple was the residence of the god, his private dwelling place, and people prayed and observed their devotional exercises in their own houses. There were of course religious processions, which frequently filled the streets of the city, but they were generally such as exerted an influence on political factors. The city of Rome had a suburb, as we might say, in the neighboring cemeteries. The most splendid tomb-stones and burial monuments adorned both sides of the magnificent Via Appia, and made the impression of a city of its own. Rome had a most excellent system of sewerage of which there are considerable remnants left. There were, besides, several aqueducts conveying water to the city. The whole territory

of Rome was divided by Augustus into fourteen regions, as it were wards, and at the head of every ward there was an official directing its internal affairs.

Interesting though the architectural and monumental appearance of ancient Rome may be, the people who inhabited that city afford a still greater interest. It was the sturdy and energetic, relentless and shrewd, painstaking and severe people of Rome, which presented the spectacle of men, who were at once the best conquerors and rulers and the best obeyers known in general history. To obey, to stand by the command of a superior, was engrafted on the mind of every Roman from his childhood; and, even in the times of the wildest licentiousness, we do not hear of a Roman who ventured to revolt against the authority of his father, or against the principal magistrates of the city.



Household Chapel.

The population of Rome was divided into three parts. In the first were the free-men; second, the freedmen; and third, the slaves. But if we consider the condition of a son who was still in the household of his father, and if we notice the utter dependence in which he was left on the good will of his parent, we might say that, practically, there were only two classes of people in Rome, that is to say, Free-men and Slaves. For the son, as long as he was not emancipated by his father, was legally unable to earn his living, to acquire a fortune, or to live independently. In

everything necessary to support himself, he had to depend on his father, with one exception; as far as political life was concerned, he was considered a free, independent man, and it was there that the power of his father ceased.

The slaves in Rome formed over two-thirds of the city. Of course we speak of the later times of the Republic, for in the beginning of Rome, there were comparatively few slaves in the city. The slaves, forming such an overwhelming part of the population, claim our close attention; let us therefore describe their condition in detail. The most fruitful sources of slavery were the continual wars of the Romans. The number of captives brought home into slavery sometimes appears incredible. The captives were divided with the spoils upon the battlefield, and each soldier provided for the slaves allotted to him. It became common for the slave-dealers, or as they were called *Mangones*, to accompany the armies for the purpose of purchasing the captives. Prices at such times became very trifling. Sometimes as small as four *drachmae*.[1] According to Josephus, ninety-seven thousand captives followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Men of the highest rank in Rome engaged in this horrible calling and constituted a powerful organization. Children of slaves followed the condition of the mother. There were great slave markets in Carthage and in Delos, but the center of the trade was at Rome. Slaves, generally, were sold at auction, standing upon a stone so that they might be closely scrutinized. Slaves of peculiar beauty and rarity were kept separate and sold privately.

Newly imported slaves had their feet whitened with chalk. Those from the East had their ears bored. Each of them had a scroll suspended around his neck, giving

[1] About 75 cents.

iid; the African, vain; the Sardinian, unruly etc. The vate slaves of the rich Roman were divided into two sses, the country and the city slaves. Any number of m, owned by the same master, were called respectively *ilia rustica* and *familia urbana*.

The slaves were still further classified according to ir occupations, such as *Ordinarii*, *Vulgares*, *Mediastini*, *erati*, etc. They were chiefly employed in agricultural rsuits or the mechanical arts. Many, however, were d as personal attendants, it being considered discredit- e for a person of rank to be seen without a train of ves. From the moment a stranger entered the vesti- e of the Roman house, through the hall, in the recep- n room, at the table, everywhere he was attended by ferent servants, each taking his name from his occupation. e number of slaves at any given period can not be ac- ately ascertained. That they were very numerous, in t more numerous than the free population, is indispu- le; and, it is further known, that the numbers in- ased during the latter days of the Republic and under emperors. The number sometimes owned by a single ividual is almost incredible. A Greek writer, Athæ- s, says, that some persons owned as many as twenty usand.

The same system was in use in every part of the sehold. The female slaves were distinguished in like nner. Every conceivable want being attended to by a arate slave. The smallest service had its slave. Thus holding of the umbrella, of the fan, of the sandals, etc., e names to particular slaves. Similarly the arranging ress, the setting of the teeth, and the painting of the eye- ws, required separate attendants. A prominent Roman ays had a *nomenclator*, that is to say, a slave who told

him the names of the passers-by on the street, for it was considered gentleman-like to address everybody by his name. The wife, upon her marriage, received a confidential slave, *dotalis servus*. He belonged to her, the master had no control over him. He frequently had the confidence of the wife more than her own husband. Even the schoolboy was followed by his little slave to bear his satchel to school. The old and luxurious were borne in sedans or chairs by special slaves. Slaves were even trained for gladiatorial contests, especially was this the case under the emperors, who encouraged the sports in order to disengage the thoughts of the people from their own bondage. We should not, however, judge the Romans too hashly for this cruelty, as frequently free men, knights, senators, and even emperors, for instance Commodus, descended into the arena and engaged in the fatal encounter. Sometimes even women joined in the conflict.

The price of slaves in Rome varied much at different times and according to the qualities of the slave. Under the Empire, immense sums were paid for beautiful slaves and such as attracted the whim of the purchaser. We have accounts of their selling as high as from five thousand to ten thousand dollars. In the time of Horace, about a hundred dollars was a fair price for an ordinary slave. Clowns, jesters, and pretty females brought high prices, although females generally sold for less than males. Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, being encumbered with his prisoners, suffered the knights to be ransomed at seventy-five dollars; the legionary soldiers, at fifty dollars; the slaves, at twenty dollars.

There were certain feasts, during which, for the time being, slaves were allowed perfect liberty. Of these, the most remarkable were the *Saturnalia*, when such perfect

uality existed that the master waited on the slaves at ble. This feast was in the latter part of December and sted seven days. Another was a feast in honor of king rvius Tullius, he being himself, according to tradition, e son of a captive and a slave. This feast lasted from e Ides of March, the date of his birth, to the Ides of pril, the date of the inauguration of the temple of ana.



A Roman Villa.

The punishment inflicted upon slaves for offenses re various and some very severe. They necessarily ffered from those prescribed for the same offenses when mmitted by free men. Minor misdemeanors were sub-itted to the correction of the master. Cato the censor, stituted upon his farm, a kind of jury-trial among the aves themselves, and submitted to them the guilt and e punishment. The courts took cognizance of graver arges. The removal of the urban slave into the *familia rustica* was a mild and yet a much dreaded penalty,

for in such cases they worked in chains. The hand-mill was also a place of punishment. Sometimes they were scourged, after being suspended with manacles to the hands and weights fastened to the feet. Another mode of punishment was a wooden yoke upon the neck and bound to the arms on either side. Upon every Roman farm there was a private prison in which refractory slaves were confined. They were, however, abolished in the time of Hadrian. In some cases very severe punishments were resorted to, such as cutting off the hands for theft, and death by the cross. These however were very rare. To protect the master, the Roman laws were very stringent and provided that, where the master was found murdered in his house and the perpetrator was unknown, all the domestic slaves should be put to death.

There was no distinctive dress for slaves. It was once proposed in the senate to give slaves such a costume, but it was rejected since it was considered dangerous to show them their number. Male slaves were not allowed to wear the *toga* or *bulla*, nor females the *stola*, but otherwise they were dressed nearly in the same way as poor people, in clothes of dark color and slippers. The rites of burial, however, were not denied to slaves, for as the Romans regarded slavery as a political institution, death was held to put an end to the distinction between free-men and slaves. In view of the many false opinions as to the treatment of slaves, in the times of the Romans, we will add a few well established facts, concerning the treatment accorded them in some instances.

Cato ate and drank the same course of victuals as his slaves, and even had the children nourished by his wife, that they might imbibe a fondness for the family. He allowed the marriage of male and female slaves at the

rice of a money payment from their savings. Columella, nother Roman writer, regarded the gains from the births s a sufficient motive for encouraging these unions, and nought that mothers should be rewarded according to the umber of their children. The immense extension of the najority of Roman real estates made it impossible for nasters to know their slaves, even if they were disposed o do so. In the *familia urbana*, the favorites of the naster had good treatment and exercised extensive influence over him. Doubtless there was often mutual affection. Slaves sometimes, as in noted instances during the civil wars, showed a noble spirit of devotion to their masters. Those who were common inmates of the household, but were employed outside of it as keepers of a shop or boat; chiefs of workshops or clerks in the mercantile business, had the advantage of greater freedom of action. One proof of the generally humane treatment of slaves in Rome, may be found in the fact, that conspiracies and rebellions against the masters belonged to the rare and exceptional features of Roman history.

Blair, in comparing the Greek and Roman systems of slavery, points with justice to the greater facility and frequency of emancipation as the great superiority of the Roman system. "No Roman slave," he says, "need despair of becoming both a free-man and a citizen." Manumission, or emancipation, took place in either of two general ways, *Justa*, and *Minus Justa*. Of the last form, there were four modes. First, by *adoption*, rarely resorted to; second, by *testament*; third, by *census*, which was of exceptional use and did not exist later than the time of Vespasian; and, fourth, by *vindicta*, which was the general form. In the last method, the master turned the slave around with the words "liber esto," in the presence of the prætor, that

ly the principles of reason and humanity had been lied to the subject, as by Seneca, who, whatever we y think of him as a man, deserves our gratitude for the and liberal sentiments he expressed respecting slaves, , he says, should be treated as humble friends; and ecially for his energetic reprobation of gladiatorial nbats and of the brutality of the public who enjoyed se sanguinary shows. The military vocation of Rome s now felt to have reached its normal limits, and the perors, understanding that, in the future, industrial activ- must prevail, prepared for the abolition of slavery, as far was then possible, by honoring freemen, by protecting the ve against his master, and by facilitating manumission.

The state granted to public slaves the right of be- eathing half of their possessions, and private persons metimes permitted similar dispositions even to a greater tent, though only within their *familiae*. Hadrian took m masters the power of life and death and abolished e subterranean prisons. Antonius Pius punished him o killed his own slave, as if he had killed another's. lready in the time of Nero, the magistrates had been dered to receive the slave's complaint of ill-treatment d the *Lex Petronia*, belonging to the same or an earlier riod, forbade masters to hand over their slaves to com- t with wild beasts; and Antonius Pius directed that ves treated with excessive cruelty, who had taken fuge at an altar or imperial image, should be sold; and is provision was extended to cases in which masters had ployed a slave in a way degrading to him or beneath s character. Marcus Aurelius gave to masters an action ainst their slaves for any cause of complaint, thus bring- g their relation more directly under the surveillance of w and public opinion. A slave's oath could still not be

taken in the court of war. He was interrogated by the torturer, but the emperor and jurists limited in various ways the application of torture.

We learn more about the private and intimate relations between Roman slaves and their masters from the numerous mortuary inscriptions found all over Italy and, in fact, all over the Roman Empire, and which have been most carefully collected and compiled. In these inscriptions we find numerous allusions to the relations of Roman slaves to their masters; and it is both pleasing and instructive to see how frequently the relation between master and servant assumed the form of real friendship. On many tombstones, we read of the master's will to let his slave be the sole heir to his fortune. On others, he expresses a desire to lie beside his slave, who was his only and most trusted friend. On others, again, he expresses his deep gratitude for all the beneficial work that his slave had bestowed upon him. These and similar testimonials bespeak the real condition of slavery in Rome in a much clearer and in a more unequivocal way than the text of Roman laws, which by their very nature, had to be harsh and severe. In the real life of the Romans, the slaves formed a very considerable constituent of the comfort, of the industry and commerce, of the instruction of the people. The slaves were the trades-people; they were the agents, commissioners, representatives; they carried on a brisk trade for their masters; they were the private tutors and instructors of the master's children; they were the physicians of the house, and to them the lives of noble Romans were trusted daily and hourly.

The second class of people in Rome, technically known as free-men, comprises those persons who were free, and yet, as being members of a joint-family, were under the

ontrol of a house-father. Here it is of the utmost impor-ance for us to keep in mind the results of previous inquiry nto Ancient Society and especially as to the rights and luties of the various members of a joint-family. Many of he laws and institutions of ancient Rome admit of easy explanation when we once recall the peculiar standing of the joint-family.[1]

We have seen, that wherever ancient society has had a normal development the joint-family invariably made its appearance. Every known branch of the Aryan race achieved its development. Now in ancient Rome, when the other institutions of ancient society were fast breaking down, when we can only dimly make out the tribe, phratry, and gens, we find the joint-family still enjoying a vigorous life. The constant tendency of advancing civilization, which is to break up this form of the family, had made but slight inroads upon the joint-family among the Romans. Recall to mind that, in the developed form of the joint-family, the house-father or house-chief owned and controlled all its



A Roman Citizen.

[1] This Series Vol. II p. 217 *et seq.*

property, voted for it in the general assemblies, was its judge and general executive.[1]

We have further seen how most people made arrangements for liberating the sons from the control of the house-chief. But in Rome this step had not been taken. Hence a house-son had no public civil rights whatever. He could not acquire a cent's worth of property, he could not call his own the minutest thing in the world, and anything that he acquired belonged to his father. He could not marry without his consent and, when married, he had to ask for the means of his sustenance, and he remained dependent just as in the days of his childhood. His father could punish him, nay, more than this, in point of law, his father could put him to death, and we have several records in the Roman and Greek historians of Roman fathers who executed their sentence of death, and did not hesitate to sacrifice their own sons to their stern morality. But within the family he probably did have some rights. He was entitled to maintenance, and could probably be punished only in accordance with the decree of the family council.[2]

The position of the female members of this joint-family were, in the first stage, even more dependent than the house-sons. Theoretically they were always members of some joint-family, and always under the power of some house-chief. Marriage, in the first stage, simply transferred her to a new joint-family, of which her husband was chief. Legally she was in the same relation to him as was her daughter. On the death of a house-father, the female members did not thereby gain their liberty. They simply passed under the control of the new house-father. There-

[1] Ibid. 218. [2] Ibid.

y the mother might come under subjection to her own on, sisters to their brother.[1]

Such was the joint-family among the Romans. It ras not something peculiar to them, but it long retained ls archaic rights and privileges; the reason of which retention is probably to be found in the peculiar surroundings of he Patrician tribes. By skillful management, these three ribes had gained enormous power, and acquired great realth. We have also seen how from the very earliest imes they were called upon to exert all their skill, power, nd diplomacy to keep their Plebeian population in subjection and how many centuries went by before they were inally vanquished in this matter. Of necessity, such a eople became very conservative of old customs. Nearly very change was forced from them. It is not strange, hen, that the joint-family was one of the very last to be ttacked.[2]

Yet we detect the entering wedge. If the process of civilization be the bringing to the front of individuals and individual rights, the joint-family must disappear in time. So in Rome, sons in the service of the state were in a measure released from the control of the house-father. What they gained in such service they did not turn in to the family treasury. And, of necessity, the public officers were released from this control, at least as regards all official acts.

We have just pointed out that women were always onsidered members of a joint-family and hence under the ontrol of a house-father. It becomes then of interest o consider marriage in Rome and the transferrence from one joint-family to another. When the joint-family as-

[1] Hearn: "Aryan Household," p. 89.
[2] This Series, Vol. II. p. 229.

sumed the highly artificial form that it did in ancient Rome, we would naturally expect to find many ceremonies attending the transferrence of a female from one joint-family to another. Hence arose the solemn and stately form of marriage known as the *Confarreatio.* This was largely a religious act. The woman was about to renounce the household gods of one family, and henceforth worship another set. She was to break all legal connections with one family, and unite herself with another. Hence the set words to be spoken before ten witnesses, and the religious ceremonies, in which the eating of a symbolic meal occurred, and from which this form of marriage was derived.[1]



Roman Matron.

As we would expect, this form of marriage long survived among the conservative Patricians, and when it had died out in common use, was still employed in the marriage of priests.[2] But there were other forms of marriage in use, which were not so solemn and stately, and which may have been the older forms.[3] One was *Coemptio.* It was effected by a formal sale of the woman, in the same manner and form as the sale of any article of personal property. Still a third form was that

[1] *Vide* Hearn: "Aryan Household," also Coulanges: "Ancient City."
[2] Becker: "Gallus," Excursus i.
[3] Wood: "Wedding Day in all Ages," p. 51. McLennan: "Primitiv Marriage," p. 8.

sus, in which marriage was implied by the living
ther of the parties for one year, though should the
an absent herself for three whole nights this legal
umption would not follow.[1]

Besides these legal forms, there were many ceremonies
hich we will glance. After the parties had agreed to
y and the house-fathers, in whose dominion they were,
consented, a meeting of friends was sometimes held
e house of the maiden for the purpose of settling the
iage contract, which was written on tablets and signed
oth parties. The woman, after she had promised to
ne the wife of a man, was called *Sponsa* or *Pacta*.
man put a ring on the finger of his betrothed as a
ge of his fidelity. This ring was probably, like all
at this time, worn on the left hand and on the finger
st to the smallest. The last point to be fixed was the
n which the marriage was to take place. Towards
lose of the Republic, it became customary to betroth
g girls while they were yet children. Augustus put
ck on this custom. Girls, before they had completed
tenth year, could not be betrothed. The Romans be-
d that certain days were unfortunate for the perform-
of the marriage rites, either on account of the relig-
character of those days themselves, or on account of
ays by which they were followed, as a woman had to
rm certain religious rites on the day after her wed-
which could not take place on a *Dies ater* (a black
Days not suitable for entering upon matrimony
the first, ninth, and fifteenth of every month. Fur-
nore, the whole months of May and February were
ted, as well as a great number of festivals. Widows,

[1] Wood, L. C.: Becker: "Gallus," Excursus i.

however, might marry on days which were inauspicious for maidens.

On the wedding day, the bride was dressed in a long white robe, with a purple fringe adorned with ribbons. This dress was called the *Tunica recta* and was bound round the waist with a girdle, which the husband had to untie in the evening. The bridal veil was of a bright yellow color, and her shoes likewise. Her hair was divided, on this occasion, with the point of a spear.[1] The only form of marriage which was celebrated with solemn religious rites was that by confarreatio. Then a sheep was sacrificed and its skin was spread over two chairs, upon which the bride and bridegroom sat down with their hands covered. Hereupon the marriage was completed by pronouncing a formula or prayer, after which another sacrifice was offered. The bride was conducted to the house of her husband in the evening. She was taken with apparent violence from the arms of her mother or of the person who had to give her away.[2] On her way, she was accompanied by three boys dressed in the *Praetexta* and whose fathers and mothers were still alive. One of them carried before her a torch of white thorn, or according to others, of pine wood. The two others walked by her side, supporting her by the arm. The bride herself carried a distaff and a spindle with wool. A boy called *Camillus* carried, in a covered vase, the so-called utensils of the bride and playthings for children.

Besides these persons who officiated on the occasion, the procession was attended by a numerous train of friends, both of the bride and the bridegroom, whose attendance

[1] A probable survival of marriage by capture. This Series Vol. II. p. 126.

[2] Notice the survival of capture.

s called *officium*. When the procession arrived at the use of the bridegroom, the doors of which were adorned th garlands and flowers, the bride was carried across this reshold by men who had been married to only one man, that she might not knock against it with her foot,



Wall Ornament at Pompeii.

nich would have been an evil omen. Before she entered e house, she wound wool around the door-posts of her w residence and anointed them with oil. The husband ceived her with fire and water, which the woman had to ach. The bride saluted her husband with the mystic ords, "Ubitu Caius, Ego Caia." After she had entered

the house, she was placed upon a sheepskin, and here the keys of the house were delivered into her hands. A repast given by the husband to the whole train of relatives and friends who accompanied the bride generally concluded the solemnity of the day.[1]

These strict forms of marriage, which we have described, all had, as one result, the adoption of the wife into the joint-family of her husband; and, consequently, she came under his power, or as the Romans expressed it *in Manum Mariti*. From a very early time, there existed a less binding form of marriage, in which the wife did not become a member of the joint-family of her husband.[2] She remained in the family of her father. Instead of being dependent on her husband, and instead of loosing all her individuality, she kept her independence and freedom to an extraordinary degree. She did not even share the name of her husband, and instead of being called by his family name, she kept her old maiden name as before. So we see that Roman wives were either in a kind of legal bondage, which seems to be utterly repulsive to our modern feelings, or they were independent to an extent which seems to clash with the natural and religious tendencies of matrimonial life. On the one hand, a Roman wife was considered a babe, a minor, a ward, a person incapable of doing or acting anything according to her own individual taste, a person continually under the tutelage and guardianship of her husband. On the other hand, she was considered

[1] These various ceremonies are largely extracted from Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Article "Matrimonium."

[2] This was *Matrimonium justus without conventio in manum*. Here we have followed Becker: "Gallus." Some think that only the first form of marriage *confarreatio* placed the wife in *manum*. Yet if *coemptio* and *usus* be the older forms, of necessity they must, at least in the first place, have placed the wife in the power of the husband.

pable of exercising a freedom of action which seems out place with our ideas; and her life with her husband was ything but that intimate and religious companionship ich forms our ideal of wedded life.

We need only remark that this form of marriage ew in favor. Property considerations largely conduc- to this result. Marriage, thus loosely contracted, ld be as loosely dissolved. Thus toward the close of



Furniture, etc., in the Room of a Rich Roman.

Republic, the marriage tie was looser in Rome than in nost any other Aryan community. Against this merely minal marriage, a reaction set in under Christianity. e must observe how greatly this change must have af- ted the old joint-family, and this doubtless had a great al to do in effecting its dissolution, and so bringing on stage the modern family.[1]

However restricted the legal rights of women were oretically, practically they enjoyed a great amount of

[1] *Vide* Hearn: "Aryan Household," p. 479.

freedom. The legal enactments were disregarded, and the social position of a Roman woman was as free, honored and as high as the social position of any woman in any other country. In fact, the women of Rome enjoyed a far greater social liberty than the women, for instance, in Greece. In the latter country, as we have seen, women were not permitted to join the meals and associations of men; whereas the Roman matrons could freely mingle with gentlemen and enjoy the evening parties of their husbands or sons. They could go to theaters; they could appear in the assembly hall of the Senate; they could go to the arena, and their influence on the education of children was decisive. In fact, their great influence made itself manifest, in the first two centuries of our era, in that they were mostly instrumental in starting the new religion, which, under the name of Christianity, had commenced to exert its beneficial influence.

In spite of the republican and more or less democratical character of their state, the Romans never thought of establishing public schools, and, least of all, of making them free. A home education was all that a Roman child received, and the range of this studies was rather narrow. Tuition was left entirely in the hands of private tutors who, as we have observed, were mostly slaves or freedmen. The Roman boy learned to read and to write; and, as far as our historical knowledge of Rome goes, the art of reading and writing was known almost generally even from the earliest times. It would have been almost impossible to do without a knowledge of these arts; for, according to Roman usages and Roman exigencies, it was almost indispensable for every citizen to know the art of writing, and, consequently, that of reading. For instance, every house-father was compelled to keep a strict account of his



Copying Manuscripts in Rome.

s, and they were obliged to resort to the help of Greek
nies and engineers. The last part of a Roman edu
was a knowledge, or at least a smattering of the
mental law of Rome, in other words the so-called
tablets.

f we compare the amount of knowledge imparted to
ng Roman boy with that to a young Grecian, we will
y see the great difference in the character of them

two nations. From his early childhood, every Grecian was compelled to learn by heart the poems of Homer, which gave him a treasure of poetical knowledge as well as a stock of practical wisdom. Accordingly we find that the Grecians had a decided inclination to a more elevated conception of life, to a more poetical, tender, sympathetic love for their fellow beings and for the world in general. The bent of a Roman's mind, on the contrary, was thoroughly practical, stern, unbending; his life was not filled with images of poetry, with high strung conceptions of fancy. He was taught to struggle for what is immediate, for earthly goods, for money, and for power. It was only in later times, that the Romans were accustomed to go to Greece and spend several years in Athens and Rhodes, in order to acquire part of that noble and philosophical knowledge, which the Greeks even in their decadence, did not fail to teach. Down to the latest times, Roman education was mainly a practical one, shunning all the higher and moral ideal objects which were so fervently embraced by the Greeks. In the times of the emperors, the Romans devoted an undue amount of attention to the art of oratory, but even then they neglected the science of philosophy, as well as mathematical and astronomical speculations, by the cultivation of which the Greeks immortalized their names.[1]

The education of a Roman resembled, in its main features, the education of the majority of the people of our land, who, after having laid a foundation of general knowledge, rush into real life, and the experience there obtained completes what the schools omit. Public life was the domineering factor in Roman education. Their

[1] "As the twig is inclined, the tree is bent." The difference here pointed out characterized the two people throughout, and left indelible marks on history.

ien were public men, men who either yielded to public pinion, or who tried to wield the opinion of the public. Ve will fail to understand the spirit of Roman civilization, nless we represent to ourselves the great importance of ublic life as opposed to private life. Without exaggera-on, we can say that there was little private life in ancient ome. Rome knew only of public life, the life of the reets, of the forum, of the campus, of the army and avy, and every Roman was more or less engaged in these



Circus Maximus.

ublic activities. Hence, all the sports, games, amuse-ents, etc., of the people, were of a public character. This oint must be steadily kept in view, if we would under-tand Roman institutions These general reflections will elp us to understand the public amusements of the peo-le, and in the first place, the amusements of the circus.

The circus was a place for athletic contests and for hariot and horse races. When Tarquinius Priscus had aken the town of Apiolæ from the Latins, he commem-rated his success by an exhibition of races and pugi-

listic contests in the Murcian Valley, between the l atine and Aventine hills, around which a number temporary platforms were erected by the *patres* and *equ* each one raised a stage for himself upon which stood to view the games. This course, with its surro ing scaffoldings, was termed "circus." Previous to death of Tarquin, however, a permanent building constructed for such games, with regular tiers of s in the form of a theater. To this the name of "Ci Maximus" was subsequently given to distinguish it f other similar buildings, which it surpassed in extent splendor, and hence it is often spoken of as *the* ci without any distinguishing adjective.

Of the Circus Maximus, scarcely a vestige now mains beyond the palpable evidence of the site it occu and a few masses of rubble work in the circular for which may be seen under the walls of some houses in Via de Cerchi, and which retain traces of having s ported the stone seats of the spectators. This loss is tunately supplied by the remains of a small circus on Appian Way, commonly called "the circus of Caracal the ground-plan of which, together with much of the su structure, remains in a state of fair preservation. ' seats, termed collectively the *cavea*, were arranged as i theater. The last rows were separated from the gro by a *podium*. The tiers of seats were divided longit nally and diagonally by passage ways. Toward the extr ity of the upper branch of the *cavea*, the general out is broken by an outwork which was probably the *pulv* or station for the emperor, as it is placed in the best si tion for observation and in the most prominent par the circus.

In an opposite branch is situated another inter

o the uniform line of seats, showing also from its con-
ion a place of distinction, which might have been
ed to the person at whose expense the games were
. In the center of the area, was a low wall running
wise down the course, which, from its resemblance
position of the dorsal bone in the human frame, was
d *spina*. At each extremity of the spina, were placed
a post three conical, wooden cylinders like cypress
which were called *metae* (the goals). The most re-
able objects upon the spina were two columns support-
even conical objects, which, from their resemblance to
were called *ova*. Their use was to enable the specta-
o count the number of rounds which had been run,
hich purpose they were first introduced by Agrippa.
were, therefore, seven in number, such being the
ber of circuits made in each race, and as each round
run, one of the ova was put up or taken down.

At the other extremity of the spina, were two similar
ms, sustaining seven dolphins, which do not appear
ve been intended to be removed, but only placed there
rresponding ornaments to the ova. At the extremity
e circus, in which the two horns of the cavea termi-
d, were placed the stalls for the horses and chariots,
monly called *carceres*. The number of these carceres
pposed to have been usually twelve. They were
ts, closed in front by gates of open wood work, which
opened simultaneously, upon a signal being given, by
owing a rope attached to pilasters placed for that pur-
between the stalls.

The games in the circus embraced six kinds. First,
races; second, the Trojan games; third, the eques-
battles; fourth, the gymnastic contests; fifth, the
e; and, sixth, the naval battle. The games com-

When all was ready, the doors of the carceres were ng open, and the chariots were formed abreast of the *a linea*. The signal for the start, sometimes the sound trumpet or, most generally, the fall of a napkin, was n given by the person who presided at the games. The a linea was then cast off and the race commenced, the ent of which was seven times around the spina, keeping always on the left. A course of seven circuits was med *unus missus*, and twenty-five was the number of es run each day. The victor descended from his car the conclusion of his race, and ascended the spina, ere he received his reward, consisting of a considerable n of money, which accounts for the great wealth of Ro- n charioteers. A single horseman attended each chariot, object of which arrangement seems to have been two- d—to assist his companion by urging on the horses, when hands were occupied in managing the reins, and, if essary to ride forward and clear the course.

The enthusiasm of the Romans for these races ex- ded all bounds. Lists of the horses with their names d colors and those of the drivers were handed about, d heavy bets made upon each faction; and sometimes the ntests between two parties broke out into open violence d bloody quarrels. The Emperor Justinian nearly lost crown in consequence of disputes which originated in circus. The Trojan games were sort of sham fights, d to have been invented by Aeneas, performed by young n of rank on horseback. As to the other kinds of games, ir names show their nature.[1]

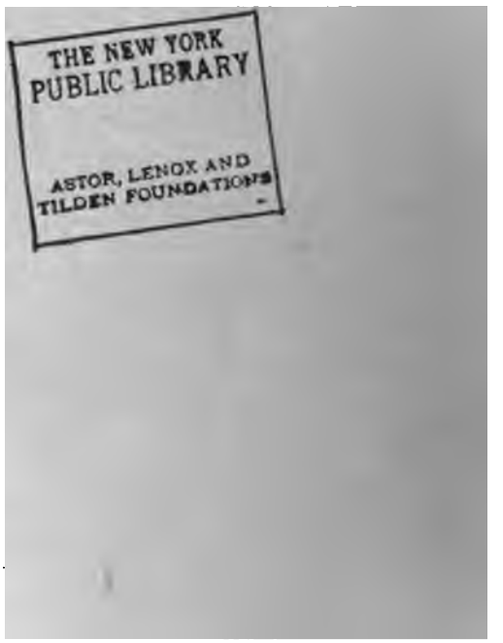
A most important class of games yet remains to be scribed; the gladiatorial combats. These games were

[1] This account is extracted from Smith's Dictionary, "Greek and man Antiquities," art. Circus.

generally executed in the amphitheater. There were several amphitheaters in Rome at different times, and it was among the designs of Augustus to erect an amphitheater in the midst of Rome in keeping with the magnitude of the city. It was not, however, until the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, that the design of Augustus was carried into effect, by the erection of the Amphitheatrum Flavium, or as it has been called the Colosseum. This wonderful building, which for magnitude can only be compared to the pyramids of Egypt, is perhaps the most striking monument of the material greatness of Rome under the empire. It was commenced by Vespasian, but at what precise time is uncertain. It was completed by Titus, who dedicated it in the year 80 A. D., on which occasion five thousand animals of different kinds were slaughtered. The Flavian amphitheater became the place where princes and people met together to witness those sanguinary exhibitions, in which the Roman people delighted. In the reign of the emperor Macrinus, it was struck by lightning, by which the upper rows of benches were consumed, and so much damage was done to other parts of the structure, that the games were for some years celebrated in another locality. Its restoration was commenced by Emperor Elagabalus, and completed by Alexander Severus. It was again struck by lightning in the reign of Emperor Decius, but was soon restored and the games continued to be celebrated in it down to the sixth century. Since that time, it has been used sometimes in war as a fortress and in peace as a quarry. Whole palaces, such as the Cancellaria and Polazzo Farnese, were built out of its spoils. At length, the popes took steps to preserve it.[1]

Notwithstanding the damages of time, war, and spolia-

[1] Consult Smith's Dictionary, art. Amphitheater.


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tion, the Flavian amphitheatre still remains complete enough to give us a fair idea, excepting in some minor details, of the structure and arrangement of this kind of buildings. The very site of the Flavian amphitheater, as of most others, furnishes an example of the prodigal contempt of labor and expense, which the Roman emperors displayed in their great works of architecture. The Greeks, in choosing the sites of their theaters, almost always availed themselves of some natural hollow on the side of a hill; but the Roman amphitheaters, with few exceptions, stand on plains. The site of the Colosseum was in the middle of the city, on the marshy ground which was previously the pond of Nero's palace. Figures can not give an adequate conception of this vast structure. Its dimensions and arrange-



Colosseum at Rome.

ments were sufficient to furnish seats for eighty-seven thousand spectators; it inclosed an arena large enough to afford space for the combats of several hundred animals at once, or that sufficed for the evolution of mimic sea-fights and the exhibition of artificial forests. Its passages and staircases gave ingress and egress without confusion to the immense mass of spectators, and for those who fought in the arena. There were dens for the thousands of animals devoted to destruction. There were also channels for the rapid influx and outlet of water, when the arena was used for the naval battle; and the means for the removing of the carcasses and the other abominations of the arena. We need simply add, that the wealth and luxury of Rome were exhausted in adorning this enormous building.[1]

The gladiators who fought in this arena, were men who were trained to fight either with their fellow men or with wild beasts. The origin of such contests is thought by some to be the practice among savage people of immolating slaves and prisoners on the death of illustrious chieftains, a practice recorded in Greek, Roman, and Scandinavian legends, and even much later in the Indian suttee. Even at Rome, they were for a long time confined to funerals and hence the older name for gladiators was *bustuarii*; but in the later days of the Republic, their original significance was forgotten and they formed as large a part of the public amusements as the theater or the circus. The first gladiators are said to have been exhibited at Rome by Marcus and Decimus Brutus, at the funeral of their father, B. C. 164. On this occasion only three pairs fought, but the taste for these games spread rapidly and the number of combatants grew. Julius Caesar engaged

1 An admirable picture of the magnitude and magnificence of this amphitheater is drawn in the latter part of Gibbon's twelfth chapter.

such extravagant numbers for his aedileship, that his political opponents took fright and carried a decree of the Senate imposing a certain limit of numbers; but notwithstanding this restriction, he was able to exhibit no less than three hundred couples.

During the later days of the Republic, the gladiators were a constant element of danger to the public peace. The more turbulent spirits among the nobility had each his band of gladiators to act as a body-guard, and the armed



Dying Gladiator.

troops of Clodius, Milo, and Catilina played the same part in Roman history as the armed retainers of the feudal barons or the *condottieri* of the rebellious republics. Under the Empire, notwithstanding sumptuary enactments, the passion for this species of games steadily increased. Augustus limited the shows to two a year and forbade a practor to exhibit more than a hundred and twenty gladiators; but many allusions in the Roman poets, show that a hun-

dred pairs was the fashionable number for private ent tainments. In a description still extant, the empe states that more than ten thousand men had fought duri his reign. The Emperor Claudius was devoted to this p time and would sit from morning until night in his ch of state, descending now and then to the arena to coax force the reluctant gladiators to resume their bloo work.

Under Nero, senators and even well born women a peared as combatants. Emperor Titus ordered a sh which lasted one hundred days, and Trajan, in celebrati of his triumph over Decebalus, exhibited five thousa pairs of gladiators. Domitian instituted chase by tor



The Amphitheater in Pompeii.

light, and at a festival, in the year 90 A. D., he arrang a battle between dwarfs and women. Even as late as 2 A. D., an edict was passed forbidding women to fight. H widely the taste for these sanguinary spectacles extend throughout the Roman provinces is known by monumen inscriptions, and the remains of those amphitheaters. Fr Britain to Syria, there was not a town of any size th could not boast its arena and annual games.

Gladiators were drawn either from prisoners of w slaves, or criminals condemned to death. In the fi

class, we read of tattooed Britons in their war chariots, Thracians with their peculiar bucklers and cimeters, Moors from the villages around Atlas, and Negroes from Central Africa. Down to the time of the Empire, only great malefactors, such as highway robbers and incendiaries, were condemned to the arena; but by Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, this punishment was extended to minor offenses, such as fraud and peculation, in order to supply the growing demand for victims. In the first century of the Empire, it was lawful for masters to sell their slaves as gladiators, but this was forbidden by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Besides these three regular classes, the ranks were recruited by a considerable number of freedmen and Roman citizens who had squandered their estates and voluntarily took the profession of gladiators. Even men of birth and fortune frequently entered the lists, either for the pure love of fighting or to gratify the whim of some dissolute emperor, and one emperor, Commodus, actually appeared in person in the arena.

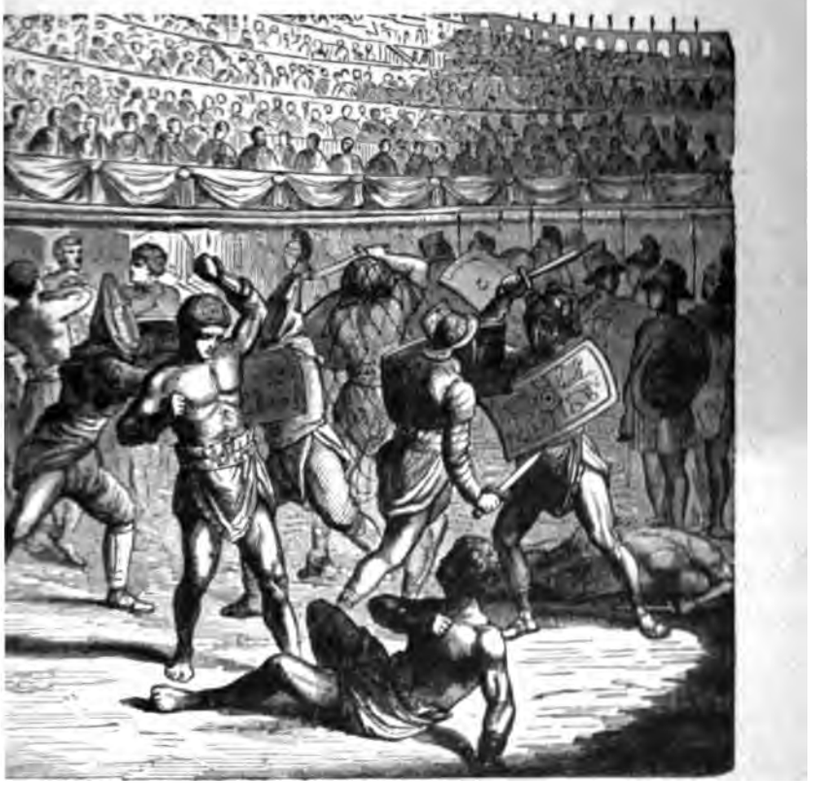
Gladiators were trained in schools, owned either by the state or by private citizens; and, though the trade of a *lanista* (a trainer of gladiators) was considered disgraceful, to own gladiators and let them out for hire was reckoned a legitimate branch of commerce. Cicero in his letters to Atticus, congratulates his friend on the good bargain he had made in purchasing some gladiators, and urges that he might easily requite himself by consenting to let them out twice. Men recruited mostly from slaves and criminals, whose lives hung on a thread, must have been more dangerous characters than modern galley-slaves or convicts; and, though highly fed and carefully attended, they were, of necessity, subject to an iron discipline. In the school of gladiators discovered at Pompeii, of the sixty-

three skeletons buried in the cells, mar
hard as was the gladiator's lot, so har
tions had to be taken to prevent suici
tions. A successful gladiator enjoyed
any modern prize-fighter or athlete. H
broad-pieced chains and jeweled helı
s en in the museum at Naples; and
sang his praise, and his portrait was
lamps, and other articles, and (humar
ently the same) high-born ladies cont
Mixed, too, with the lowest dregs of
have been many noble barbarians e
trade by the hard fate of war. There
act rs in Roman history than the
who, escaping with seventy of his com
of Lentulus at Capua, defied the legic
the Emperor's defeat at Actium, the
that remained faithful to his cause
whom he had enrolled to grace his an

There were various classes of glac
by their armor or the modes of figh
fought with their national weapons, a
a visor, a plumed helmet, and a shor
cians had a small, round buckler and
a scythe. They were generally pit
millones, so-called from the fish which
of their helmet. In like manner
matched with the *secutor*. The forme
a short tunic or apron and sought to
who was fully armed, with the cast-ne
his right hand, and if successful, he
the trident that he carried in his left
tion the *andabatae* who wore helmet

essedarii who fought from chariots like the ancient
ons, and the *laqueatores* who tried to lasso their an-
nists.

The estimation in which gladiatorial games was held
Roman moralists deserves notice, and so also the in-
ıce that they exercised upon the morals and genius of



Fighting Gladiators.

nation. The Roman was essentially cruel, not so much
ı spite or vindictiveness, as from callousness and de-
ve sympathies. This fact may be easily explained
he daily habits of the Roman people. If a peo-
are accustomed to move in masses, in aggregates of

men, they will quickly loose those delicate emotions which the individual private life requires and which, as a rule, are entirely stifled in the movements of masses. We may easily observe the change of feelings which comes over us when we stand in the midst of a large mass of people. Our finer sentiments become obtuse and we lose our sense of delicacy, which is entirely supplanted by the rougher, coarser, and also more cruel kinds of sentiments natural to a mass of people. That the sight of blood-shed provokes love of blood-shed and cruelty is a common-place of morals.

To the horrors of the arena, we may attribute in part the frequency of suicide among the Romans. It is one of the finest remarks of Lessing that the Romans were unable to produce a great dramatic writer because of their love of the arena. People, who could see, unmoved, real agony and the real unmitigated horrors of death could not be satisfied with the imitation of agony on the tragical stage; and, accordingly, we find that the Romans, while they produced a few good writers of comedies, as Plautus and Terentius, never produced a great writer of tragedy. In connection with this fact, we remind the reader that the Greeks, as remarked above, abhored the games of the arena and, by thus retaining all the delicate, subtle nature of their feelings were enabled to write the most touching tragedies.

But we must not exaggerate the effects or draw too sweeping inferences from the prevalence of gladiatorial or similar amusements in Rome. Human nature is happily illogical, and we know that many of the Roman statesmen who gave these games and themselves enjoyed these sights of blood were in every other department of life irreproachable. They were indulgent fathers, humane

nerals, and mild rulers of provinces. In the present te of society, it is difficult to conceive how a man of te could gaze upon a scene of human butchery: yet we uld remember, that it is less than half a century since ar-baiting was prohibited in England; and we are only w attaining that stage of morality in respect to cruelty animals that was reached in the fifth century, by the p of Christianity, in respect to cruelty to men.

We shall not, then, be greatly surprised if few of the man moralists be found to raise their voices against s amusement, except on the score of extravagance. ero, in a well-known passage, commends the gladia- ial games as the best discipline against the fear of death d suffering that can be presented to the eye. The unger Pliny, who perhaps of all Romans approached arest to our ideal of a cultured gentleman, speaks ap- ovingly of them. Marcus Aurelius, though he did much mitigate their horrors, yet, in his writings, condemns monotony rather than the cruelty. Seneca is indeed a lendid exception, and his letters to Lentulus are an elo- ent protest against this inhuman sport. In the Confes- ns of Augustine there occurs a narrative, which is worth oting as a proof of the strange fascination which the mes exercised even on a religious man and a Christian. tells us how his friend Alipius was dragged against will to the amphitheater; how he strove to quiet his science by closing his eyes; how, at some exciting sis, the shouts of the whole assembly aroused his curi- ty; how he looked and was lost, grew drunk with the ht of blood, and returned again and again, knowing his lt, yet unable to abstain. The first Christian emperor s persuaded to issue an edict abolishing gladiatorial nes in the year 325 A. D., yet, in 404, we read of an ex-

hibition of gladiators to celebrate the triumph of Ho over the Goths, and it is said that they were not extinct in the West until the time of Theodoric.

Besides the gladiatorial games and the races were the *Ludi Magni*. They were originally a feast to Capitoline Jupiter, promised by the general he took the field and per on his return from the campaign. They thus pr the appearance of a m spectacle, or rather a re the whole Burgess force. marched in solemn pro from the capitol to the and thence to the circus. came the sons of Patr mounted on horseback; ne rest of the Burghers, arr accordingto their militarye after them, the athletes,



Roman Lictors.

save for a girdle around their loins; then the comp dancers with the harp and flute players; next the p in colleges, bearing censors and other sacred instrum and, lastly, the images of gods, carried aloft on shoulders or drawn in carts. The chase in the circu the baiting of wild animals, which were pitted either one another or with men. The taste for these spec grew until the most distant provinces were ransacke generals and pro-consuls to supply the arena with animals, giraffes, tigers, and crocodiles.

The other great public amusement of the Roman the theater. Plays given in the Roman theaters we national plays, representing the types and figures o

an life, but they were mostly composed after Grecian atterns. The two most celebrated writers of Roman ays, Plautus and Tarentius, modeled their plays almost clusively according to their Grecian masters. The tors and actresses were despised by the public, and thus eaters were far from forming a part of the nation's life s they did in Greece. There successful writers of plays, s Sophocles, were honored with a military leadership; r, in modern times, great actresses and dramatic authors ere generally the recipients of great honors. The pecu- iarly stern and rigid character of the Romans is well shown by their abhorrence of dancing. In the words of one of their great writers (Cicero), no sober man will dance. They considered dancing a consequence of intem- perance and could not conceive of a man enjoying the pleasure of dancing in a decent way. Among them all, dances were performed by hired people, mostly servants or profligate women.

The Romans attributed great importance to the culti- vation of bodily exercises and bodily purifications. Almost every city in the vast empire, possessed bathing-houses with the most luxurious, practical, and beautiful arrange- ments, where, in addition to the lotion of the body, all possible amusements were offered. It was in their public bath-houses where the Romans met; where they generally discussed the events of the day; where they listened to the arts of great reciters, to the lectures of jurists, of phi- losophers, and of all kinds of scientists. Frequent bathing, was a necessity for the Romans, since as they did not know the use of shirts, cleanliness demanded a constant purifi- cation of the body.

The Romans had only two meals a day or, if we take it in a strict sense, only one. The breakfast consisted of

a piece of bread and dried fruit. Many people did take it at all. Then followed a very light luncheon after the bath, the meal proper, the *coena*. The t which in rich houses was made of citron, maplewoo even ivory, was covered with a table-clothe (*mantele*) each of the different courses, sometimes amounti seven, was served upon a waiter. But the dinner us consisted of three ourses only.



Roman Soldier

the *promulsis*, called also *gus* made up of all sorts of stimu for the appetite. Eggs were co ered so indispensable to the course that they almost gave a r to it. Of birds, the Guinea the pheasant, and the thrush most in repute. The liver o capon steeped in milk and becafi dressed with pepper, were consid delicacies. The peacock acq such repute among the Roman g mands, that it was commonly for fifty *denarii*. Other birds are mentioned, such a duck, especially its head and breast, the woodcock, turtle, and flamingo, the tongue of the latter espec commended itself to the delicate palate of Roman no Of fish, the variety was still greater. The charr, tu sturgeon, and mullet were highly prized and dresse the most various fashions. Of solid meat, pork seem have been the favorite dish, especially sucking pigs. paps of a sow, served up in milk, the flitch of bacon mentioned by Roman writers. Bear's flesh and ven were also in high repute.

Condiments were added to most of the dishes. S

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the *muria*, nd of pickle made from the tunny fish. ther condiment was made from the intestines of the kerel. Several kinds of truffles and mushrooms are tioned, which either made dishes by themselves or ed the garniture for larger dishes. It must not be posed that the cooks of imperial Rome were at all be- d ourselves in the preparation and arrangement of the le. In a large household, the functionaries, to whom important part of domestic conomy was entrusted, e four—the butler, the cook, the arranger of the dishes, l the carver. Carving was taught as an art, performed he sound of music with appropriate gesticulations.

We will now suppose the table spread and the guests embled, each with his *mappa* or napkin, and in his dinner s, usually of a bright color and variegated with flowers. st they took off their shoes for fear of soiling the couch, ich was often inlaid with ivory or tortoise shell and cov- d with a cloth of gold. Next they lay down to eat. They lined on the left elbow, supported by cushions. There e usually, but not always, three on the same couch, the ldle place being the most esteemed and honorable. ound the table stood the servants clothed in tunics. ne removed the dishes and wiped the table with a rough h. Others gave the guests water for their hands or led the room with fans. Here stood a servant half be- d his master's couch, ready to answer the noise of the ers, while others bore large platters of different kinds neat to the guests.

The coena, in Cicero's day, at all events, was an evening l. A dinner was set out in a room called *Coenatio.* coenatio, in rich men's houses, was fitted up with great nificence. The historian Suetonius mentions a supper- n in the golden palace of Nero, constructed like a thea-

ter, with shifting scenes to change with every course. The Greeks and Romans were accustomed in later times, to recline at their meals, but even in the time of the early Roman emperors, children, in families of the highest rank used to sit together at an inferior table while their fathers and elders reclined on couches at an upper part of the room



Roman Dining Hall.

Roman ladies continued the practice of sitting at the table, even after the recumbent position had become common with the other sex.[1]

The Romans, as well as the Greeks, indulged in very hard drinking. In their time, as well as at present, Italy

[1] This account of the dining customs of the Romans is extracted from Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, article "Coena."

ıced some of the most delicious wines of the world. a remarkable fact, however, that the places celebrated ery delightful grapes in antiquity are nowadays en- deprived of good vine-yards and do not furnish a able wine. The Romans made all kinds of fruit- from the various fruits of their orchards, but they indulged in beer. At their meals they accepted the custom of electing a "master of the revels," who



Taking the Toga Virilis.

ed the number of goblets to be emptied by each guest. ldition to this, they generally drank the health of friends according to the Greek fashion, that is to say, drank as many goblets as there were letters in the s of their friends. They never drank wine without xture of water; to do so was considered barbarous. seldom or never hear of Roman women joining the ing parties of men, and even the frequent exaggera- in Roman satirists, like Martial and Juvenal, show exaggerated character but too evidently.

se of the knightly order had two narrow stripes of the ne color. This garment was usually of linen, and the ional color, for ordinary purposes, was white. Poor sons, were doubtless content with the natural color of linen or wool; and, when in mourning, the higher sses generally wore a dark colored one though this was always the rule.

More convenient than the toga, but retaining a gen- l likeness to it, was the *pallium*. Some toilet articles re worn only by certain classes, or at certain times. The *bea* formed the official dress of the seers (*Augurs Salii*) d was purple. The *paludamentum*, worn by the em- ror as head of Rome, was also purple in color, though hite was allowed. The *sagum*, similar to the last, was rn only by soldiers. The *paenula*, was worn, in rainy ather generally, to cover the dress. It was made of ck, flaxen material or of leather, with or without a od. It was elliptical in shape with a round hole in the ddle for the head to pass through. The *lacerna*, formed expensive materials and colors, was worn in the theater circus in the presence of the emperor. As regards vering for the head, there was the hood of the paenula rough weather, or the toga could be drawn up over the ad, or there was a separate article, called *ricinium*, in form of a veil. Workmen and others wore hats or ps. As an ornament for the head, the diadem was only asionally used by the emperors before the time of Con- ntine. It was declined by Caesar. After Caracalla, most usual mark of an emperor was a crown of rays.

The heavy garments worn out of doors were replaced dinner, as we have said above, by garments of thin ma- rial. Trousers were not worn until comparatively late, d even then only by soldiers, who were exposed to

northern climates. The Romans ridiculed the tight trousers and pants of northern nations, and they could not understand how people of sense could prefer tight garments to the comfortable ample dress of the toga or tunica. The legs were protected by flat bands, laced around them up to the knees. On the feet, senators wore shoes of red leather, ornamented with knobs of ivory or brass and having a



Household Utensils.

high sole. The Patrician order wore shoes of black leather, ornamented with an ivory crescent for non-official occasions. Persons not belonging to these orders wore sandals. The *compagus*, said to have been introduced from Etruria, appears to have been a sort of shoe.

For personal ornament, finger-rings of great variety of material and design were worn, sometimes to the extent

of one or ꝛ on each finger. Many persons small cab of them. At first the Roman cit only an iron ring as a ıet, then a gold ring in duced for persons sent on foreign embassies, but by c the right of the golden ring was extended to all c ꝛ citizens. In the case of baldness, a wig was allc ꝛd men as well as women during the Empire. The hair the beard were allowed to grow long until about 290 B. C From that time, shaving the hair short was the fashi but, under Hadrian, long beards again came into ıic

For the lady's toilet we may mention first, t *interior*, loose and without sleeves. Across the l passed the *mamillare*, then came the tunica proper, erally called *stola*, girt at the waist, and having fastened down the arms as in the Greek *chiton*. Ov ı was thrown, for out-door wear, the *palla* or plaid. A ı over the back of the head was the mark of matron. In rainy weather, a hood like the Etrus ı *lus* was worn. To cover or hold up the hair, ne used: but this simple article was far from comm nong the Roman ladies, whose chief characteristic in ꝛ ng of art is the elaborateness of their manner of braiding and twining the hair. Subsequently a blonde color of hair became fashionable, and to produce this color dying was resorted to. Nor were the ladies of ancient Rome unacquainted with various innocent means of increasing their charms. Generally the eyebrows and eyelashes were painted. Even the veins on the temples were sometimes touched with delicate blue color. The complexion was improved by various powders and waters. The teeth were carefully looked after, false ones making up the deficiency of nature. For the feet, sandals, but, by prefe ence, shoes were made use of, generally of bright colors

embroidered with gold or pearls. Socks or stockings
e confined to ceremonial occasions. Personal orna-
nts consisted of brooches, bracelets, armlets, ear-rings,
cklaces, wreathes, and hair-pins. The torques, or cords
gold, worn around the neck, were introduced from Gaul.
profusion of precious stones was used. Roman jewelry



Roman Lady at her Toilet.

was distinguished from Greek or Etruscan by the absence
of skill and refinement in workmanship, but not in charac-
ter of designs.

From what we have had to say of Roman education
and manner of life, we would not expect to find them in
the possession of a very extensive literature unless it be

some intensely practical subject; such for instance, as w. Yet, as wealth and luxury increased, it became shionable to gather together libraries. The books were lls; the material used varied, but that most generally nployed was papyrus. *Librarii*, or publishers, supplied e demand for books. The only way in which books uld be duplicated was by laboriously transcribing the ntents. The scribes who performed this work were her slaves or free-men who worked for hire. Probably e person dictated to several scribes at once.



Roman Books and Rolls.

We will mention only a few of the authors of Rome. e will speak first of Cicero and his writings. Cicero, a statesman and politician, acquired a vast knowledge the factors and working causes of Roman civilization; d, consequently, in his writings we find the reflections a mind richly stored with the treasures of both Greek

and Roman thought. These consist of fifty-six orations, several books on the art of oratory, philosophical treatises private letters and a few historical books. In his orations, we have the most perfect examples of oratory. Every oration is lucid; the diction is fluent and always appropriate. He never indulges in redundant phrases; he is always simple, always naive; he saves all the strength of his oratory for certain points, toward which he is constantly working; and so the whole of any of his orations is so well balanced and well proportioned, that we seldom leave him without being convinced, if not of the justice of his cause, at least of the magnificence of his defence. The most perfect of all his orations are those directed against Catiline and Verres. The daring courage of his orations against Catiline and the wonderful composure which he keeps up amidst the most furious onslaughts of political enemies will forever remain the delight of the reader and the dispair of the imitator.

In the domain of history, Rome can boast of several very great authors. There is, in the first place, the masterwork of Livy. It is, or rather it was at the time of its appearance, a complete history of Rome in one hundred and forty-four books,[1] of which we at present possess but thirty-five and a few abstracts of the rest. But even these fragments suffice to show us the great value, the fascinating style, the vast store-house of facts, the beautiful arrangement and general fairness and reliability of the work. Although he may lack the profoundness of Greek historians, he is still a most interesting narrator and one of the most instructive teachers. All are pleased with the pictures of the lives and actions of those heroes of Rome,

[1] The Romans divided their work according to books. A book corresponded to our modern chapter.

in this f is told the history of Rome. Modern tics, it is true, have pointed out many a deficiency, es- cially in the first books of Livy, but Livy himself con- ses that the first five books of his work are more poeti- l legends than sober history.

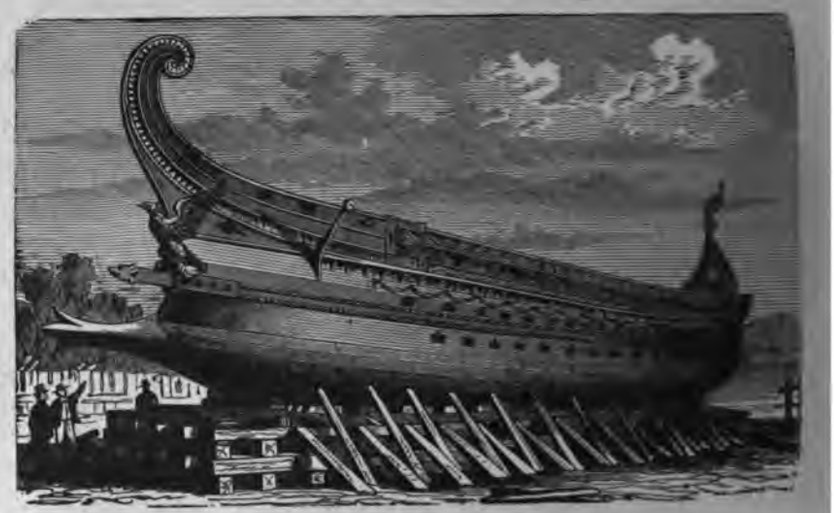
A second great historian of Rome is Tacitu E orks, the "Annales" and the "Historiæ," treat mes of the first emperors with the exclusion of Au e is full of deep reflections, although his temper ra ured with the despondency of an old republi ites to see those institutions succumb to the e ent of the emperors. His style is a work of t. It so precise, so terse, that but ldom a word can be omitted thout upsetting the fabric of a ntence. But he sometimes ex- esses a variety of ideas in two three words, and this frequently ads to a certain darkness of ex- ession; and, besides, many of his ntences admit of several expla- ations. But his meditations on e characters of individual em- rors, or as he called them ty- nts, his investigations into the constitution of a free ople, his scathing remarks on the weakness and frailty courtiers and of the people in general, are subjects of ep interest to the reader of all times, and more especially the people of this country, where the republican sys- m has been developed to a greater extent than ever be- re, and where, therefore, the dangers of loosing it are ually great.



Sallust

We had occasion to remark, a few pages back, that

the Romans did not produce any great writers of tragedy. Owing to the workings of the same law, perhaps, poetry was never a very favorite branch of literature among the Romans, and they do not rank as high as the poets of Greece. Every one knows the classical value of Virgil's writings. There is also a charm in the writings of Horace. In his poems, we find the composure of a well-balanced mind, the quietude, not of a dead intelligence, but of a philosophy, which, as the usual saying is, "takes things easy" and finds a blessing where the majority of people



Ancient Roman Ship.

find nothing but injury and misfortune. His writings exhale, as it were, the soothing odor, the quieting flavor of one of those Eastern aromatic compounds, of which, it is said, it allays all plaints and relieves the most violent attacks of pain.

Money and the mechanism of exchange play a very important part in the culture of all civilized nations of the present day. We have also pointed out the very great

nfluence of commerce in developing civilization.[1] We ıust therefore inquire as to the standing of the Romans ı this matter. The passages in Roman writers treating f this topic are very obscure, admit of different explana- ıons, and frequently have no co-herence with one another. Thus it was taught that the Romans, for several centuries, ıad no other money than the heavy, copper *as*; and it is elated by Pliny, that a large debt in ancient Rome could e defrayed only by using several vehicles to transport



Funeral Ceremonies.

he money. As to the time when silver money came into ıse, the ancient authors have different reports; and, al- though we still possess a large number of silver coins of the time of the Republic as well as of the Empire, we can not fix the exact date of their introduction into the com- merce of the city.

One point has, however, been made clear; that is that

[1] This Series, Vol. II. p. 280, 732.

the copper as was a representative money analogous t the use of paper in our times. Many people suppose, th paper money is an ingenious invention of the last few ce turies, and that the ancient nations had no idea of the c trivance by which value is ascribed to a valueless thi and by which, in the opinion of some people, we co make ourselves independent of the products of silver gold mines. But the idea of representative money g back to the second millennium before Christ, the differ being that those nations did not use paper, and this f very simple reason, they had no paper. They used bars or copper bars or leather, and they had a very tinct and precise idea about the commercial function such money. The Romans however had a complete ba ing system, and, through the excavations in Pompeii are pretty well acquainted with the inner machinery of Roman banks. Their business consisted more or les what it does to-day, in exchanging, advancing, loan money, mortgaging property etc. Even their commer books resembled ours to a great extent, although they w much simpler and much was trusted to the memory.

The Roman state, as such, never incurred debts; consequently, the modern ideas of "state debts" were tirely unknown. The Romans did not have the mod idea of taxing every citizen as high as possible, and of l ing a regular annual tax levy upon every household order to cover the expenses of the state. On the contr taxes were considered as an irregular, almost accide thing. Booty from conquered people rendered the l ing of taxes unnecessary. In the times of the Macedo war, the immense booty from the conquered Greeks sufficient to meet all demands of the state for many ye The income of the provinces, as well as the managem

he different mines, was leased out to corporations, and s the whole system of the state was reduced to its plest form of management.

Roman ideas about riches differed very extensively m our modern ideas. None of the Romans was as rich some of our great bankers or railroad magnates, and e largest fortunes we occasionally read of, like that of assus or some of the savings of the Roman emperors, nounted to fifteen or twenty million dollars; but the ouble in Rome was, that riches and poverty were so un-qually divided. The small land holders, at the time of ugustus, were almost entirely extinct; and in the time of he elder Pliny, that is in the latter part of the first cen-ury, almost all the land of Italy was concentrated in the hands of a few powerful land-owners. The Romans did not fail to notice this element of danger in the economical structure of their country, and the author just mentioned confesses that the *latifundia*, or the large estates as he calls them, would be the ruin of the state.

Although there were all necessary conditions for a brisk trade and an extensive commerce, the Romans as a rule were adverse to mercantile transactions. It is very easy to account for this fact. The Romans, in the first place, were soldiers, and military pride disdains the occupation of trading. The average Roman preferred to gain his wealth by plundering weaker people rather than trusting to the more prosaic chances of trade and commerce. Consequently the commerce of Rome was more or less in the hands of non-Romans, especially of Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians. Our ideas of commerce, as being a great interchange of necessaries, does not apply to the commerce of the Romans. The merchants generally rushed to those departments of trade, which promised big returns; jew-

te in the atrium on the *Lectus funebris*. Here friends ought leaves and flowers, and had the deceased when alive quired the right to wear a crown, it was placed on his ad. By the side of the lectus, a censer was placed; and, ar the door of the house, a pine or cypress was planted, nbolical of death, and also serving as a warning to those rsons who were forbidden on religious grounds to enter ouse where there was a dead body.



Place of Eating the Funeral Meal.

When the day of burial arrived, a strange procession ompanied the body. In front there marched officers to serve order, musicians, hired mourners, and *Mimi* or ple who undertook to represent the traits of character the deceased. Then followed a ghastly company, people aring the masks of the deceased ancestors of the dead. us symbolically, the deceased ancestors accompanied the ly of their recently dead kinsman to his grave. Then ne the body, borne on the lectus, followed by mourning atives and friends. The procession wound its way to

the Forum, and the funeral oration was delivered the tribune.

Nine days after the burial, there came the las sacrificial meal. It consisted of simple dishes, parta near the grave, for which purpose sometimes spec clinia (*triclinia funebra*) were built. Sometimes game provided for the general multitude, who were likew galed with food and presents of money.



Offerings to Mars.

We have now tried to describe the home life public and private, of the Roman citizen. We mu serve that the whole tendency of such a life was direction of immediate, practical ends. They wer like the Greeks, discussing questions of deep philoso and scientific import, or deciding points in fine ar more practical questions engaged their attention; ho duct this war; how govern that province; how g most tribute from such a people. They examined question from such a stand point. And to their cre

that every subject they had to settle th
n a most enduring manner. To make eign
lisciplined soldiers were needed; acc l y
army was drilled as soldiers never
he most good out of conquered provi
ıore was necessary than to simply t
accordingly, for the first time in the history
ın intelligent attempt was made to fuse the
ed people into a homogeneous whole. To
ce to the shores, it was necessary to
y, extend to them the protection of
n to the older tribal law; hence in Roı
for foreigners, or equity, taking its rise.[1]
at length arrived for the old tribal cust
and enlarged to suit new ideas, we find
olving that splendid product of their ge
Civil Law.

e statements just made will go far to explain
rise to power of the Roman commonwealth. If
ıe political history of Rome,[2] we find that in a
me, comparatively speaking, the Romans reduced
dominion the then known world. It is no easy
to explain this fact. A mere knowledge of the pro-
the various conquests, of the successive campaigns,
rious battles, of the deeds of this or that general,
ord no explanation of the sudden splendor of the
conquest and civilization. This same phenomenon
l the attention of ancient writers as early as the
century before Christ. At that era, we find Poly-
reek historian, who, as a statesman, was frequently
in settling political affairs with Roman generals,
, besides, was the personal friend of Scipio Afri-

[1] Series, Vol. II. p. 231. [2] Above ch. iv.

canus, writing a large work on the history of the th known world with the express intention of accounting the sudden growth of the Roman commonwealth—t growth being by far the most striking fact of classical tiquity.

It is a common-place statement, that the wisdom, valor, the self-restraint, in one word, that the domestic tues of the Romans were chiefly instrumental in brin to pass the great facts of their history. In almost e hand-book of history, we find the author pointing to virtues of a Cincinnatus, Regulus, Fabius Cunctator, millus, Scipio, Cato, etc., etc., as the real main-sprin Roman greatness. Now, while far from denying the l ficial influence of domestic virtue, although nobody deny the great advantage accruing to a nation that boast of such men, yet it is clear that these virtue themselves, are not sufficient to produce results equ those that we find in the history of Rome. For e Roman who excelled in virtue of any kind, we can fi Greek who cultivated the same kind of virtue with e success.

The Romans, themselves, taught their children to to the heroes of Greece as their models and ideals, an noblest Roman youth had no higher ambition than to the glorious king of Macedonia, Alexander the G The Roman historians, especially Livy and Corn Nepos, constantly hold up the warriors and sages of Gr as the patterns of morality, of all social and political dom. The Romans, themselves, therefore, never hesit to confess that, as far as virtue and morality are cerned, other nations were on a par with them. We l look, then, for other causes, which are more or less i pendent of private morality, for an explanation of

sudden and great rise in power of the Roman commonwealth.

Polybius, writing as we have observed in the second century B. C., found an answer to this query in the form of government adopted by the Romans. In attempting to follow Polybius in his reasoning, we will be struck with the conservatism of the old Patrician tribes of Rome and their practical, sound sense. They indeed clung tenaciously to their rights, but were ready to yield when they saw that further resistance was useless. And, in thus yielding gracefully, they not only made the best terms for themselves, but they effected a compromise, which in turn led to the form of government which attracted the admiration of Polybius.

We must recall the constitution of tribal society in a normal state. There is first the tribal chief, an elected officer, but whose office tends to become hereditary, and whose powers, especially in times of war, are very great. Next, the tribal council, composed of the chiefs of the various phratries and gentes—all elected officers—who advised the head chief on all important matters, and whose decision even he is bound to obey. Finally, the general assembly of the people, which must be convened to discuss all laws and all proposed measures.[1] Now, as civilization advanced, the natural tendency would be for each of these departments of government to develop at the expense of the other two. The result would be, that, in the course of time and among different people, we would find representatives of the three different forms of government known to the ancients. If the office of head-chief developed at the expense of the other departments until the powers of government were absorbed by this one office, the result

[1] This Series, Vol. II ch. ii.

was a monarchy. If the council thus developed, the result was an oligarchy; or, if the general assembly absorbed these powers, the result was a democracy.

The above represents what we might call the natural development of government. But we, of course, understand that the form of government was often subverted by force. Now the ancients were acquainted with these



Naval Battle.

three forms of government and discussed the strong points of each; for, as all are aware, each had its strong and weak points. The trouble with many of the Grecian states, for instance, was that they were divided into factions, each clamoring for its desired form of government, and when one party, as at Athens, gained the ascendency, the other was almost extirpated.

Now Polybius concludes, from a study of the Roman [illegible] that Rome of all the states of his time had a [illegible] of government which combined the strong points of [illegible] these systems. If that be so, then, in the case of [illegible] we have a normal development of social society. [illegible] as above remarked, is a striking proof of the practical conservatism of the people. Turning to the [illegible]



Audience with a Roman Emperor.

ment of Rome we find much to confirm this conclusion. number of officers still exercised powers analogous to se of the old rex or tribal-chief. Such were the con- s, in a less degree the censors, and in times of emergency dictators. The consuls were really year-kings, and direct heirs of the older life-kings. Like the old bal chiefs, their powers were greatest in times of war.

In point of fact, the dictator exercised greater power than a king.

The tribal council survived in the senate of Rome. It consisted of the best and wisest and, to some extent, the worthiest citizens of the state. In its meetings, the more important topics of the state were the subjects of deliberation. It was a corporation, which, in its dignity and in its wisdom, made the impression of a collection of kings. The senate occupied a position half-way between the legislative and the monarchial powers. Instead of interfering with the machinery of the state, it served as a sound and healthy check in times of political fury; and thus it promoted the welfare of the state and acquired a respect and esteem which made its decrees and ordinances, in course of time, equal to laws passed by the whole nation. It was the senate of Rome that drew up treaties, ordained regulations for conquered nations, carried on the immense political business of the city, regulated the forces of the most distant provinces, sent out armies and directed their marches.

As for the general assembly of the people, it is well known that it was in full vigor at Rome. All laws, properly so-called, were passed in the assemblies, or as the Romans called them, in the comitia, where every Roman citizen had a right to cast his vote. This assembly was indeed considered the supreme power of the Roman commonwealth, inasmuch as all was depending on laws, and laws could not be enacted by any other power than by the general assembly. It was there that the great magistrates—the consuls, the censors, the prætors—were appointed; it was there that the great leaders of the armies were elected.

Some modern writers think with Polybius, that here

is the explanation of the sudden rise of Rome. It gives us some light but does not explain all. We need but go a little way back in time to find the same government in Greece.[1] But by the second century B. C., the ancient institutions in that country had largely disappeared, owing to the incessant conflict between the ruling and subject classes.[2] Rome had indeed this same conflict to meet,[3] but though clinging tenaciously to their ancient customs, they granted from time to time such concessions to the people as enabled them to retain a large measure of their government.

It now only remains to inquire what were the peculiar characteristics of Roman civilization, what was their part in developing Aryan civilization in general, and what was their great legacy to the civilization of the present. The Romans were not distinguished in the field of literature, science, and art. That was the province of Grecian civilization. They were distinguished in the direction of government. Away back in the night of time, we see the three tribes[4] of singular ethnical mixture[5] that composed the Patricians of Rome, rising on the banks of the Tiber. After some centuries of time, they succeeded in reducing to their power a large portion of Italy.[6] In the meantime they had passed through the conflict which came to all the tribal societies of antiquity; the conflict between the ruling tribes and their subject people, who were continually pressing for a share in the government. And we have just pointed out how from this conflict they had emerged, in the early days of the Republic, with a government which attracted the admiration of the ancients.

[1] Recall the kings, ephors, gerushia, and assembly in Sparta; the archons, council, and assembly in Athens. This Series Vol. II. p. 185 *et seq.* [2] This conflict is traced in Vol. II. p. 187 *et seq.* [3] Ibid. p. 195 *et seq.* [4] Vol. II. p. 198. [5] Above p. 266. [6] Above p. 274.

These centuries of conflict had trained them in the art of governing. The whole aim of the Patrician tribes was to retain the practical advantages of their position. This was the question that confronted the Roman citizen from childhood to old age. Their education and manner of life show that this was the main aim. We need not wonder, then, that we have before us such a prosaic matter-of-fact people, who cared little for merely intellectual pursuits, and disdained many of the more innocent enjoyments of other nations. On the contrary they



A Bakery in Rome.

delighted in the brutal games of the amphitheater, and lived only to extend their power and influence, to increase their wealth and luxury.

Their power, skill in diplomacy, and vigorous intellect were now united for the conquest of the world, and one people after another fell before them. They did not hesitate to use treachery if it would advance their ends. They understood well the art of fanning the flames of internal dissentions among a people they wished to subdue.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that they succeeded, and reduced the whole world to their power. But to their credit be it said, that the conquered provinces were organized, governors were appointed, cities built, roads surveyed and laid out, and the Roman law gradually extended over them.

Here then we see their great influence on Aryan civilization. It was a great step in advance when the numerous independent and war-like tribes of a country, like Gaul for instance, were brought under subjection to one central power, under the workings of one system of laws. Development in civilization went forward rapidly. With consummate wisdom also, the ruling powers at Rome, from time to time, extended the benefits of Roman citizenship to the more prominent leaders in their provinces. Thus was gradually built up a state of vast power, posessing a civilization, which, if it lacked the polish of Grecian civilization, embodied a great store of practical wisdom, better suited perhaps to the real wants of practical life.

One inquiry yet remains before us, what was the great legacy of the Romans to our present civilization. After our remark on the skill of the Romans in the difficult task of governing, it may not occasion surprise to learn that the answer to the question is—The Civil Law. People who would govern well must know how to legislate well. When we treated of Greek civilization, we drew the attention of our readers repeatedly to the fact that the great merit of that civilization was chiefly in the field of art. There Grecian genius showed itself at its best and in that field they continue to be the masters of the world. In Roman civilization, we find an analogous fact. The Romans were the first and the most perfect teachers of law; and their laws have come down to us in a form so lucid,

so instructive, so well arranged, that the majority of Romance nations could only accept them in spite of the fact that many of them had already developed a legal system of their own. In the field of legal science, then, we find the most important feature of Roman civilization. They



Roman Judgment Hall.

were at once the greatest law-givers, the best lawyers, and the most profound jurists. We will therefore point out the most salient points of their legal system in order to

ıstrate its vast influence on the course of general civili-
ion.

The Romans themselves used to complain that they
d too many laws; but in fact, if we compare the number
their laws with those of a modern nation, we will be
uck with their small number. They had, comparatively
eaking, few laws and their laws were expressed in a terse,
ort, technical language, which however, every body
derstood, because every body participated more or less in
e jurisprudence of the Republic. The Romans from the
ry first established the jury system. Every civil case
s decided by a juror—eventually by three jurors—and
is is one of the marked differences between the Roman
d the English system. The great number of English
ors (twelve) is recognized as one of the great draw-backs
the system. In Rome one juror, as a rule, decided a
se, though he generally called to his assistance two or
ree of the well known and learned jurists of the city, who
med his council. It is not surprising, then, that every
ucated Roman acquired a very adequate knowledge of the
ws of his country.

In England and America, the development of law
sts chiefly with the judges, and consequently every lawyer
compelled to form a vast library containing the various
al reports. In Rome, the development of law rested
tirely with the jurists; and in their writings, they en-
ged, commented upon, and revised the laws given in
e legislature and in the senate. It is interesting to
tice the form in which their writings have come down
us. In the sixth century after Christ, Justinian deter-
ned to collect the most important parts of the numerous
itings of the Roman jurists into one vast collection. He
trusted his chancellor, Tribonian, with the task of collect-

ing and sifting this great mass of judicial lore. He, assisted by a number of other great lawyers and jurists, succeeded in making an abstract of the writings of thirty-nine of the best and most renowned Roman jurists, which were published under the title of "Digest".

One of the most ancient copies of this collection, a manuscript of the seventh century, inestimable in value, is still extant in Florence. It is kept under a glass cover, constantly guarded, no body being permitted to touch it unless by special permission of the municipality. In fact, so great is the value attributed to this manuscript that a formal ceremony is enacted while the spectators gaze on it. Amongst others, servants with torches in hand and soldiers with drawn swords stand around during the examination. This manuscript has been copied by various hands and its contents form the foundation of law and jurisprudence in most of the countries of Europe; though England refused to accept the Roman system of law, and, consequently, American courts, as a rule, do not pay much attention to the study of Roman jurists.

To the law of the Romans, then, we ascribe the vast importance of Roman civilization; for, as a matter of course, their law was a direct outcome of their civilization. We should estimate the value of the influence of different nations on civilization according to the lasting benefit that they were able to confer upon the world. Perhaps no nation of modern times, can compare in this respect with the Romans. We can not point to any one element in our civilization, as derived directly from the Semitic nations of antiquity. The influence of these people, though doubtless very great in developing civilization, is lost in the distance. This is true of the Assyrians and Babylonians, though they established vast empires, ruled many

millions of people, built numberless edifices of great beauty, collected large libraries, and conquered immense territories. But in the case of the Romans, we can say that they continue to exercise a great influence in the field of legal science. Every day, cases of the utmost importance are decided on the strength of the reasoning employed by some of the old jurists of Rome.

We have now finished our brief outline of Roman civilization. We have traced the rise of this people, have studied their national character, and have pointed out the direction in which they exerted their greatest influence in the development of Aryan civilization. Let us notice the rapidly widening sweep of Aryan culture. How contracted the area of Grecian civilization appears as compared with that of the Roman! And yet, less than half of Europe was brought under the sway of Rome. In tracing the political history of Rome, we have seen how that country, enervated by luxury, hopelessly divided by internal dissensions, finally disappeared as a political power before the ruthless march of the Teutonic tribes. But their culture did not disappear. It conquered the Teutonic invaders and was by them disseminated throughout the length and breadth of Aryan Europe. Let us now follow it into this, its third and last stage of development in the Medieval World.

CHAPTER VIII.

CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

INTRODUCTION—Right Ideas as to the Middle Ages—Feudalism—Its Origin—Feudal Tenure—Ceremonies attending the Transference of a Fief—Duties of the Vassal—Military Service—Feudal Incidents—Reliefs—Fines—Forfeitures—Aids—Feudal Nobility—Origin of Classes—Freemen—Villeins—Medieval Slavery—Feudalism, a Development of Tribal Society—Feudal Jurisdiction—Wager of Battle—Origin of this Custom—Rise of Free Cities—Chivalry—Its Origin—Influence of the Church in this Matter—The Page and his Duties—Squires and their Duties—Modes of Conferring Knighthood—The Ancient Ceremony—The Shortened Ceremony of Later Times—Classes of Knights—The Tournament—Knight Errantry—Estimation of Feudalism—Picture of the Middle Ages—The Crusades and their Influence—Powers of the Church—Estimation of Church Influence—Church Influence in the Matter of Advancing Knowledge—Trade in the Middle Ages—Social Life, etc.—Conclusion.



THE WIDENING stream of Aryan culture now enters on its third stage of development. By the end of the fifth century of our era, the Roman Empire, as a great political power, had disappeared. From out of the confused scenes of those far away centuries, we have traced the gradual rise of the present nations of Europe. We have yet before us the study of the culture of the Middle Ages. Greece was the solitary peak which first caught the glow of the rising sun; Rome, the mountain range shining afar; the Middle Ages, all Europe basking in the light of culture. Let us, then, enter on an investi-

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gation of the culture of this last period, and learn what we can of the culture of Europe in the Middle Ages, which, in a general way, may be taken to mean the thousand years preceding the discovery of America.[1]

The middle ages have been called the dark ages, a period of superstition, an age of church rule, and similar expressions—all denoting a retrograde state of civilization, all expressive of a stage of development inferior to that of the present. It is customary to look down upon those times and to decry the customs and habits of the nations and people. It is almost generally accepted, as a statement admitting of no doubt, that the middle ages form the dark part of European history, that there is an ugly gap between the brilliant times of classical antiquity and the still greater splendor of our own modern age. It is still further held that during that time, science and literature had scarcely an existence; that people in general were indescribably ignorant and entertained the most ridiculous opinions. No doubt, it is easy to point to many erroneous ideas prevailing throughout that period. It is one of the easiest things to discover fault in other people; or, as in our case, in the culture of other ages.

Many of the opinions universally accepted in the middle ages are now known to be errors. We no longer believe, as did the people of that time, that since the capture of Jerusalem, all children are born with four teeth less than before. In general, we no longer believe in

[1] In our view of the middle ages, we have followed several of the best acknowledged authorities about the history and institutions of those times. Our main guides were the impartial Hallam, whose statements we frequently thought of accepting in his own words without constantly alleging his name; next in importance and as a controlling check to the Protestant Hallam, we followed the Catholic Cantu, the great Italian historian. Furthermore, K. F. Eichhon, as a guide in the legal field; Michaud, as to the crusades; John Selden, concerning knighthood; Muratori, concerning the church and general history, etc.

witchcraft and sorcery, though, in the middle ages, almost every one, even those most enlightened, believed in both. In the middle ages, the power of the church was supreme, and the influence of the clergy on the mental as well as temporal well-being of the people was enormous. These things have changed; and, at the present time, science and literature are flourishing. It is not strange, then, that our opinions differ, on many points, from those of the people of the middle ages, and that the influence of the clergy seems to be less than that of scientific ideas. After an earnest study of the middle ages, we find ourselves unable to agree with those who take extreme views as to the backward state of the culture of the middle ages. Far from denying the existence of many blemishes in their culture; far from denying that superstitions and false opinions were much more general in the middle ages than at present; and, far from denying that many of the institutions of those times seem to us exceedingly strange, we can but believe that the general judgment of writers on this point is far too severe. We think it has been unfairly biased by religious and party opinions. As is but natural, the historians of Protestant countries are inclined to exaggerate and thereby disfigure the features of a time in which the Catholic church reigned and ruled without opposition. To deny the many benefits conferred upon Europe and all the world by the institutions of the Catholic church is equivalent to a confession of ignorance. The institution of the Catholic church furthered the development of Europe, and, to a certain extent, preserved its very existence, and, therefore, it deserves the gratitude of mankind. It is very easy to decry, to indict, to arraign, but it is extremely difficult to prove.

In the following pages, we shall try to substantiate

our foregoing assertions; and in this rapid glance over the institutions of the middle ages, we will, we hope, be enabled to show that even those ages of "darkness," as they are sometimes called, show the presence of a large number of those goodly rays of light which only emanate from an enlightened state of society, and which tend to promote the welfare of man. We will try to show that, the church government of the middle ages did not arise from the ignorance of the people, but that it had its roots in the pressure of circumstances, which was stronger than the wisdom of a single man. We will try to show, that although literature and science were not cultivated to such an extent as they are at present, they still had a vigorous life within the walls of many convents. We will speak of the tranquil life of those Burghers who were the inhabitants of cities, and the pleasant, if narrow life of the peasantry. We will also speak of the poetry, of the music and art, of the commerce and industry of those bygone times; and, in so-doing, we hope to impress our readers with the conviction, that the middle ages, though inferior to our own time, had attractions and advantages of their own, showing that mankind never ceases in its career of progress. We need not treat of the many wars and battles, of the personal history of the innumerable princes, kings, and emperors, who ruled in the middle ages. We wish, on the contrary, to learn of the different institutions of domestic and public life, showing the manners and customs of private people, the way they earned their money, the manner in which they lived, their different professions, trades, and careers, and many other details of the home life of the people.

All have heard more or less of feudalism. Probably no one factor enters so largely into the peculiar feature of

the culture of the middle ages as feudalism. It is therefore extremely necessary to come to an understanding on that point. We must not make the mistake of supposing that feudalism was simply an invention of the middle ages; on the contrary its roots are to be found in the constitution of tribal society. Two sets of factors seem to



Feudal Castle in Rouen.

have united to bring it about. We have already had occasion to remark how, as civilization advances, the land on which a primitive tribe settled became the basis of classification; and how the gens survived in the *mark, gemeinde, commune*, or *parish*;[1] or, to speak in general terms, in agricultural communities.

1 Vol. II. p. 178.

We have also seen that this agricultural community
s the land-holding body. All the joint-families forming
community had equal rights in the land, which at
iodical times was divided among them. Liberty and
ıality, however, require for their preservation the exer-
e of sleepless vigilance. In the great majority of cases
l in most countries, the agricultural communities did
sufficiently guard against the growing power of their
lage chiefs. The office was allowed to become heredi-
y; originally possessing no more right to the land than
other joint-family belonging to the community, they
dually were allowed to exercise property rights over
best portions of it, which finally was extended to the
ste portions, and ended in the exercise of a sort of qual-
d ownership over all of the mark, or commune. By
ılified ownership we mean that the original right of
perty was considered as belonging to the "lord" (for
h the once elected chief had now become), and the
ginal owners performed various acts acknowledging
supremacy.

In this way, there was steadily growing up in all the
yan lands of Europe privileged ranks and classes.
en came the Teutonic conquest of the Western Empire.
is easy enough to see that when the conquered territory
s divided the more powerful chiefs would receive grants
territory of great extent. "The cultivators of his land
uld either be persons settled on it by himself, or they
uld be vanquished provincials who had no rights which
did not choose to recognize or concede."[1] Here, then,
uld be a community built upon the model of the old
ıtonic village community but of materials so plastic
t it assumed a strangely different aspect.

[1] Maine: "Agricultural Communities."

As the conquered provinces were Roman provinces, where the Roman civil law had held full sway, and as that law gave great precision to all the relations of life, it is not surprising that feudalism assumed a thoroughly systematic form, having all the relations defined and specified. Neither is it strange that the "lord" emerges with greatly increased powers. This systematized form of feudalism now reacted on Europe, and thus, in the course of centuries, there grew up the state of society we designate as feudalism. Accounting for feudalism in this way, we perceive at once the significance of many terms.

Practically it tended to widen the chasm between the privileged classes and the masses of the people. Recognizing in a dim way the old relation of tribes-men and chief, it still sought to enforce the duties of each class—the former, the duty of obedience and military service; the latter of protection. As in the former state of society only after many formalities were strangers admitted to the tribe, so only by many formalities was land conveyed in fief. Feudalism finally became a wonderfully artificial form of government, resting down upon the land of the kingdom as a basis. Theoretically the ownership of all the land of the kingdom was vested in the crown. The most of it was granted out to a limited number of powerful leaders. Each of these proceeded to divide his territory in a similar way, thus there was a regular gradation of authority from the king to the lowest holder of a fief. With each subdivision there was created the relation of lord and vassal, with the duties we have outlined above.

Hence we can see how society in the middle ages was molded by the institution of feudalism. And we can see how necessary it is for us to make a study of it. Resting upon land as a basis, we can see how, in law, feudalism came

simply to mean a tenure of land. The land granted was a *fief*, the holder of it was a *feudary*, the service by which it was held was *feudal*. We can also see why medieval law was largely taken up with defining the rights and duties of lords and vassals.

In all cases of feudal tenure, there was a contract of support and fidelity. Whatever obligations this relation laid upon a vassal, corresponding duties of protection were imposed upon the lord. If these were transgressed on either side, the one forfeited his land, the other his right over it. Nor were motives of self interest alone appealed to. The associations founded upon ancient custom and friendly attachment; the impulse of gratitude and honor; the dread of infamy; the sanctions of religion, were all employed to strengthen these ties, and to render them as powerful as those of nature, excelling those of political society.

The ceremonies used in conferring a fief were principally three—homage, fealty, and investiture. The first was a solemn and significant expression of the submission and devotedness of the vassal toward his lord. In performing homage, his head was uncovered, his belt ungirt, his sword and spurs removed. Kneeling he placed his hands between those of the lord and promised to become his man from thenceforward to serve him with life and limb and worldly honor, faithfully and loyally, in consideration of the lands which he held under him. None but the lord in person could accept homage, which was commonly concluded by a kiss. An oath of fealty was indispensible in every transferrence of a fief, but the ceremony was less peculiar than that of homage and it might be received by proxy. It was taken by ecclesiastics, but not by minors. In language, it differed little from the form of homage.

Investiture, or the actual conveyance of feudal lands, was of two kinds, proper and improper. The first was an actual putting in possession upon the ground, either by the lord or his deputy, which is called in English law *livery of seizin*. The second was symbolical, and consisted in the delivery of a turf, a stone, a wand, a branch, or whatever else might have been made usual by the caprices of local custom.

Let us now inquire as to the duties of the vassal. These can not be exactly defined. The general statement is, that it was military service, and that, in its very nature, was uncertain. It was a breach of faith to divulge the lord's counsel, to conceal from him the machinations of others, to injure his person or fortune, or to violate the sanctity of his roof or the honor of his family. In battle the vassal was bound to lend his horse to his lord when dismounted, to adhere to his side while fighting, and to go into captivity as a hostage for him when taken. It was a question, agitated among feudal lawyers, whether a vassal was bound to fight with his lord against his own kindred; more important still was the question, whether he must do so against the king. In the works of those who wrote when the feudal system was declining or who were anxious to maintain the royal authority, this is commonly decided in the negative. There was a form of homage, prevalent in Normandy and some other countries, containing a reservation of allegiance due to the sovereign.[1] A law of Frederick Barbarossa enjoins that, in their oath of fealty to an inferior lord, the vassal's duty to the Emperor should be expressly reserved, but it was not so during the height of the feudal system in France. The vassals of Henry the second and Richard the first never hesitated to adhere to

[1] Coke on Littleton, sec. lxxxv.

:m against the sovereign, nor do they appear to have :urred any blame on that account. Even as late as the : of St. Louis, it is laid down in his "Establishments" that



Storming a Fortified Town in the Middle Agee.

njustice be done by the king to one of his vassals, the ter might summon his own attendants under penalty of feiting their fiefs to assist him in obtaining redress by

arms. The count of Britany, Pierre de Dreux, practic asserted this feudal right during the minority of St Lo In a public instrument, he announces to the world t having met with repeated injuries from the regent denial of justice, he had let the king know that he longer considered himself as his vassal, but renounced homage and defied him

A measure of military service was generally set by some usage. Forty days was the usual term, dur which the tenant of a knight's fief was bound to be in field at his own expense. In the kingdom of Jerusal feudal service extended to a year. It is obvious that t was founded on the peculiar circumstances of that st Service of castle-guard, which was common in the nort England, was performed without limitation of time. T usual term of forty days was extended by St Louis to si except when the charter of infeudation expressed a sho period, but the length of service diminished with the qu tity of land. For half a knight's fief, but twenty days w due; for the eighth part, but five; and, when this was chan into a pecuniary assessment, the same proportion was served. Men past sixty years of age, public magistra and, of course, women were free from personal service. were obliged to send their substitutes.

A failure in the discharge of their duties produ forfeiture of the fief, but it was usual for the lord to inf a fine, known in England by the name of *escuage*. Th in Philip the third's expedition against the Count de Fo in 1274, barons were assessed for non-attendance at hundred sous a day for the expenses which they had casioned, and fifty sous as a fine to the king; banner had twenty sous for expenses and ten as a fine. Knig and squires in the same proportion, but barons and b

nerets were bound to pay an additional assessment for every knight and squire of their vassals whom they ought to have brought with them into the field. The regulations as to place of service were less uniform than those in regard to time. In some places the vassal was not bound to go beyond the lord's territory further than he could retrace in the same day. Other customs compelled him to follow his chief upon all his expeditions.

We can see that the tendency would be for the lord to increase his power every way he could, and turn every incident of this relation to his advantage. In this way there arose what are known as feudal incidents. We must notice some of these exactions. When an heir succeeded to a fief he paid the lord a sum of money known as relief. Feudal lawyers have explained reliefs in the following manner. Fiefs, whether depending upon the crown or its vassals, were not originally granted in absolute ownership, but were renewed from time to time. Upon the death of the posessor, a sum would naturally be offered by the heir on receiving a further investiture of the fief. But another explanation, and one equally as plausible, is to suppose that reliefs arose from the inclination of the strong to oppress the feeble. When a feudal tenant died, the lord, taking advantage of his own strength and the confusion of the family, would seize the estate. Against this violence, the heir could in general have no recourse but a compromise.[1] Reliefs and other

[1] The literature of feudalism in general is enormous, but the really instructive works are few. Medieval institutions differed so essentially from our modern form of life that but few historians were able to conceive a just, clear, and comprehensive idea of them. Among them are Roth: "Beneficialwesen," of which work p. 205-422 relate to "feudal incidents," Stubbs on "Constitutional History of England," Vol. I. p. 552 and Vol. II. on feudalism. Waits' great work on "German Constitution," Vol. 7, 8, 9.

feudal incidents are said to have been established in France about the latter part of the tenth century, and they certainly appear in the famous edict of Conrad, the Salic, in 1037, which recognizes the usage of reliefs and escuage to the lord upon a change of tenancy. By the law of St. Louis, in 1245, the lord was entitled to enter upon the land if the heir could not pay the relief and posses them for a year.

Closely connected with reliefs were the fines paid to the lord upon the alienation of his vassals, and indeed we frequently find them called by the same name. The spirit of feudal tenure (dimly recalling the old tribal relation) established so intimate a connection between the parties that it could be dissolved only by mutual consent. If the lord transferred his rights, the tenant was to make known his concurrence, and this ceremony was long kept up in England under the name of *attornment*. The assent of the lord to the disposal by the vassal of his fief was still more essential and more difficult to be obtained. He had received his fief, it was supposed, for reasons peculiar to himself or to his family, at least his heart and arm were bound to his superior and his services were not to be exchanged for some other unknown man, who might be unable or unwilling to render them. A law of Lothair II. in Italy, forbids alienation of fiefs without the lord's consent.

This prohibition is repeated in the laws of Frederick I., and a similar enactment was made by Roger, King of Sicily. By the law of France, the lord was entitled, upon an alienation made by his tenant, either to redeem the fief, by paying the money, or to claim a certain part of the value by way of fine upon a change of tenancy. Many causes might arise by which the fiefs would re-

vert to the grantor. This might follow from the failure of heirs. Then again the fiefs were often taken from their holders as a punishment for some offense. Various causes are laid down in the decrees of Jerusalem whereby the vassal forfeits his land for a year, for his life ,or forever. Under rapacious kings, such as the Norman line in England, absolute forfeiture came to prevail and a new doctrine was introduced—the corruption of blood for acts of felony. In such a case the heir could never establish his claim to the fief, it reverted absolutely to the lord.



Suit of Armor.

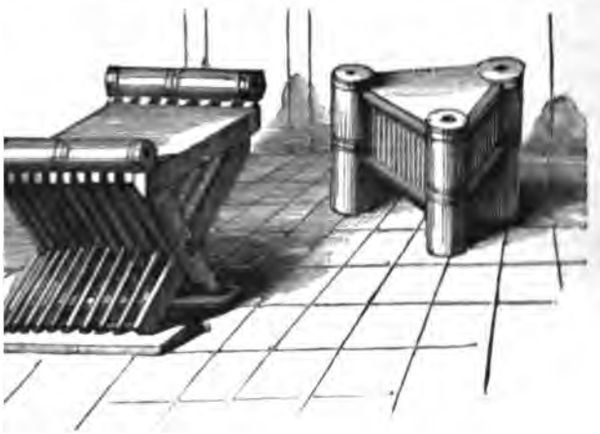
Another class of powers enjoyed by the lords was technically known as *aids*. These were in the nature of tribute exacted for various occasions. They depended a great deal on local custom and were often extorted unreasonably. Several are mentioned as existing in France, such as an aid for the lord's expedition to the Holy Land, for marrying his sister or eldest son, etc. This and other aids, occasionally exacted by the lords, were felt as a severe grievance, and by Magna Charta, fundamental documents of the English constitution, three only were retained—to make the lord's oldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to redeem his person from prison. Aids are deserving of attention since they were

the beginnings of taxation. They answered this purp for a long while until the necessities and covetous po of kings substituted for them more durable and onei burdens. In England and in Normandy (which eit led the way or adopted all these English institutions) lord claimed the right of guardianship of his tenant du minority. He not only had the care of his person he received the profits of the estate. This privilege se to have been enjoyed by the lord in some parts of G many, but in France, the custody of the land was trusted to the next heir, that of the person to the nea kindred of the blood who could not inherit.[1] Fr gross abuse of this custom in England, there arose w was known as the right of guardianship in chivalry, temporary possession of the lands being assigned to str gers.

We will mention but one other exaction of the lor that is the right of marriage. He could tender a h band to his female wards while under age, who could reject him without forfeiting the value of marri that is, as much as any one would give to the guard for such an alliance. This was afterwards extended male wards, and became a very lucrative source of ex tion for the crown, as well as for lords. This custom see to have had the same extent as that of wardship. It found in the ancient books of Germany, but not of Fran The kings, however, and even inferior lords of that count required their consent to be solicited for the marriage their vassals' daughters. Several proofs of this occur the history of France, and the same prerogative existed Germany, Sicily, and England. We have been somew full in this matter, but the institutions of feudalism ex

[1] Sir John Fortescue: "De Laudibus Legnum Angl." chap xvi.

h a very great influence on the culture of the mid-
that it is very necessary to understand the rights
es which this relation created. We must notice
influence in defining the classes of society. The
's of beneficiary estates were in many cases the
scendants of old tribal officials, and in all cases
e rich and influential leaders. They were inti-
onnected with the crown, and assisted in the ex-
justice and in the royal councils. Their sons in-



Chairs of the Middle Ages.

his eminence, and so, whether engaged in public
r living with magnificence and hospitality at
ey naturally drew to themselves popular estima-
e dukes and counts, who had changed from chiefs
lers into lords over the provinces entrusted to
re at the head of this noble class, and, in imita-
hem, their own vassals, as well as those of the
nd even rich owners of absolute, or as it was
odal property,[1] assumed titles from their towns or

[1] must understand that at no time was all the land in the king-
y feudal tenure of a superior.

castles, and thus arose a number of petty counts, barons, and viscounts.

This distinct class of nobility grew apace with the feudal tenures. For the military tenant, however poor, was subject to no tribute but service in the field and such incidents and exactions as we have noticed above. He was the companion of his lord in the sports and feastings of his castle, the peer of his court. When he fought on horseback, he was clad in the coat of mail, while the commonalty, if summoned at all to war, came on foot with no armor of defence.[1] As everything in the habits of society conspired with that prejudice, which, in spite of moral philosophers, will constantly raise the profession of arms above all others, it was a natural consequence that a new species of aristocracy, founded upon the mixed considerations of birth, tenure, and occupation, sprang out of the feudal system. Every posessor of a fief was a gentleman, though he owned but a few acres of land and furnished his slender contributions towards the equipments of a knight.

Not all of the upper class were distinguished by actual holding of land. So, to distinguish them in this case from the common mass, two schemes were devised; namely, the adoption of sir-names and of armorial bearings. The first is commonly referred to the time when the nobility began to add the names of the estates to their own, or having in any way acquired a distinctive name of transmitting it to their posterity. As to armorial bearings, however, there is no doubt that similar emblems were, from time immemorial, used in war and peace.[2] But the general introduction of such bearings as hereditary distinct-

[1] Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. 2. part 2nd.

[2] Even in tribal society each gens had its totem mark.

ns has been metimes to tournaments where-
the champions were distinguished by fanciful devices,
metimes to the crusades where the multitude of all
ations and languages stood in need of some visible token
denote the banners of their respective chiefs. In fact,
ie peculiar symbols of heraldry point to both these sour-
es and have been borrowed in part from each other.
Hereditary arms were, perhaps, scarcely used by private
milies before the beginning of the thirteenth century.
rom that time, however, they became very general.

When privileges of birth were thus rendered capable
f direct proof, they were increased in value, and thus a
ne was gradually drawn between the high-born and the
noble classes, which finally became almost as broad as
iat which separates liberty from servitude.[1] All offices
f trade and power, except those appertaining to the
gal profession, were confined to the former class. A Ple-
eian could not possess a fief. Such at least was the origi-
al strictness, but as the aristocratic element grew weaker,
indulgence was extended to heirs and afterward to pur-
iasers. They were elevated to the ranks of the nobility
y the acquisition of an estate or at least by holding it
r three generations. A gentleman in medieval France
Germany, could not exercise any trade without losing
ie advantages of his rank. A few exceptions were made,
least in the former country, in favor of some liberal
ts and of foreign commerce; but in nothing did the
udal haughtiness of birth show itself more than in the

[1] The historical doctrine of armorial bearings and heraldry in gen-
al has recently been re-investigated by cool and cautious scholars. A
mber of them, led by Planche, Boutell, Seton, Nichols, and Lower,
ve set aside all the fabulous pretensions and baseless assertions of the
rlier writers, have sifted the old evidence, and adduced much that is
w.

disgrace which attended unequal marriages. No children could inherit a fief held immediately of the empire, unless both their parents belonged to the higher class of nobility. In France, the offspring of a gentleman by a Plebeian mother was reputed noble for purposes of inheritance and of exemption from tribute, but he could not be received into any order of chivalry, though capable of simple knighthood. Many instances occur where letters of nobility were granted to give them official rank. For several purposes it was necessary to prove four, eight, sixteen, or a greater number of quarters, that is, of coats worn by the paternal and maternal ancestors; the same practice still subsists in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and in some other countries of Europe.

It appears, therefore, that the original nobility of the continent of Europe did not derive their rank from royal concessions. But the kings of France, before the end of the thirteenth century, began to assume a privilege of creating nobles by their own authority and without regard to the holding of land. Philip the Hardy, in 1271, was the first French king who granted letters of nobility. In the reign of Philip the Fair and his children, they gradually became frequent. This of course effected a change in the character of nobility. The privileges originally connected with ancient lineage and extensive domains, became common to the low-born creatures of a court, and consequently lost part of their title to respect. The lawyers pretended that nobility could not exist without a royal concession, and in return for their teachings, they were made official noblemen by the exercise of royal power.[1] The institutions of chivalry, as we will see, also gave rise to a vast increase of gentlemen; knighthood, on

[1] Reeves: "History of English Law," Vol. II. p. 354.



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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

homsoever conferred by the sover ;
ıssport to noble privileges. It ı ,
·ant previous letters of nobility to a Pl
ıe honor of knighthood was designed.

Turning our attention now to this n ·,
ıat there were varying classes. Those in
·ld lands immediately depending upon the cr
·er titles they might bear, were included in
·rons. These were originally the peers of t
ıurt. They possessed the higher territorial
ıd had the right of carrying their own banı
·ld. To these corresponded the *vavasores*
pitanei of the German Empire. In a subord
ere the vassals of this high nobility. Tl
France belonged to the order of *vavasores*,
·ld only secondary fiefs; but having fortified h
hich they derived their name and possessing
ghts of territorial justice, they rose above the ·el
ıeir fellows in the scale of tenure.

It will be needless to dwell upon the condition of the
ferior clergy, whether secular or professed. The prelates
ıd abbots, however, it must be understood, were feudal
ıbles. They swore fealty for their lands to the king or
ıeir superiors, received the homage of their vassals, en-
yed the same immunities, exercised the same jurisdic-
ıon, maintained the same authority as the lay lords
ıong whom they dwelt. Military service does not ap-
·ar to have been reserved in the beneficiary grants made
cathedrals and monasteries. When other vassals of
ıe crown were called upon to repay the bounty of their
overeign by personal attendance in war, the ecclesiastical
·nants were included within the scope of this feudal duty,
hich duty in general they were not reluctant to fulfill.

Charlemagne, the great emperor of Germany, exempted or rather prohibited them from personal service. The practice, however, prevailed in succeeding ages. Both in national and private warfare, we find very frequent mention of martial prelates.[1] We have many instances of their accompanying the army though not mixed in the conflict, and even the parish priests headed the militia of their villages.



Bedstead of the Middle Ages.

But not-withstanding the war-like disposition of some ecclesiastics, their general inability to protect the estates of their churches against rapacious neighbors, suggested a new species of feudal relation and tenure. The rich abbot elected an advocate whose business it was to defend his interests both in secular courts and, if necessary, in the field. King Pepin and Emperor Charlemagne are styled advocates of the Roman Church. This, indeed, was on a

[1] One of the latest instances, probably, of a fighting bishop is Jean

nagnificent [illegible] in ordinary [illegible]
of the monastery was some neighboring lord, [illegible]
for his protection possessed many lucrative [illegible]
very frequently considerable estates by [illegible]
his ecclesiastical clients.

The classes below the gentry may [illegible]
freemen and villeins. Of the first were t[illegible]
of chartered towns, citizens and bu[illegible]
more will be said presently. As to th[illegible] in
country, we can have no difficulty in recogniz
as England is concerned, the *socagers*, that is
held land not by military service but by [illegible]
ain tenure, and a numerous body of t[illegible]
of years or for life, who formed that [illegible]
trength of England, the *yeomanry*. But in [illegible]
ries freemen were not so clearly distinguished. I
ecords and law-books of feudal times, all
entry are generally confounded under the name of vill
r *hommes de poste*. This shows the slight estimation in
which all persons of ignoble birth were considered, for
ndoubtedly there existed a great many proprietors of land
nd others as free though not as privileged as the nobility.
n the south of France and especially in the Provence, the
umber of freemen is said to have been greater than in
he parts on the right bank of the Loire where the feudal
enures were almost universal. The villeins of feudal
imes form an interesting class of people. They seem to
e the descendants of the conquered population, and thus
ad very few rights.

The characteristic distinction of a villein was his ob-
gation to remain upon his lord's estate. He was not
nly precluded from selling the lands upon which he dwelt,

[illegible]ontaigu, archbishop of Sens, who was killed at Agincourt, in 1415.

but his person was bound, and the lord might reclaim him at any time by suit in the court of justice if he ventured to stray. But equally liable to this confinement, there were two classes of villeins, whose condition was exceedingly different. In England, at least from the reign of Henry II., one only, and that an inferior species, existed, incapable of property and destitute of redress except against the most outrageous injuries. The lord could seize whatever they acquired or inherited, or convey a part of their land to a stranger. Their tenure bound them to what were called villein services, ignoble in every nature and indeterminate in every degree; the felling of timber, the carrying on of manual labor, the repairing of roads for their lord who seems to have possessed an equally unbounded right over their labor and its fruits.

In France and Germany, persons in this abject state seem to have been called *serfs*, and distinguished from villeins, who were only bound to fixed payments and duties in respect of their lord, though as it seems without any legal redress if injured by him. "The third estate of man," ..ys Beaumanoir, "is that of such as are not free and these are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord that he may take all they have alive or dead, and imprison him whenever he pleases, being accountable to no one but God, while others are treated more gently from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him."[1] Under every denomination of servitude, the children followed their mother's condition, except in England, where the father's state determined that of the child.

The number of people in bondage, as well as the

[1] Compare the articles "Villanus" and "Servus," in Ducange's "Dictionary of Medieval Terms."

ferent degrees of slavery, is one of the most striking tures of the middle ages, and in no country of Europe we see a greater variety of such people than in Ger- ny. In Germany there was a countless array of people bject to the dominion and sovereignty of others in a riety of ways. The condition of each class being de- mined by a separate set of laws, each modified by ferent customs, and each having a different mode of



King going to a Tournament.

eing the bondsman from his bondage. This peculiar pect of servitude lasted up to very recent times; and, n at the present day, there is a decided state of bon- ge in many parts of Russia; bondage of territory, that where the bondsman is not permitted to leave a cer- n territory; bondage of community, where the bonds- n is not allowed to join any other but his community; ndage of labor; and finally bondage of person.[1]

1 The most vivid picture of German serfdom and servitude is given Just. Moeser's "Patriotische Phantasien."

As society advanced in Europe, the manumission of slaves grew more frequent. By the indulgence of custom in some places, or perhaps by original convention, villeins might possess property and thus purchase their own redemption. Even where they had no legal title to property, it was accounted inhuman to divest them of their little possessions. Their poverty was perhaps not less intolerable, upon the whole, than that of the modern peasantry in most countries of Europe. It was only in respect of his lord, it must be remembered, that the villeins, at least in England and in France, were without rights.

A villein might inherit, purchase, sue in the courts of law, though as a defendant in a real action, or suit wherein land was claimed, he might shelter himself under the plea of villeinage. The peasants of this condition were sometimes made use of in war and rewarded with enfranchisement, especially in Italy where the cities and petty states had often occasion to defend themselves with their whole population, and in peace the industry of free laborers must have been found more productive and better directed. Hence the eleventh and twelfth centuries see the number of slaves in Italy begin to decrease. Early in the fifteenth century, a writer, quoted by the learned Italian scholar Muratori, speaks of them as no longer existing. A considerable part of the peasants in some parts of Germany had acquired their liberty before the close of the thirteenth century. In other parts, as well as in all the northern and eastern regions of Europe, they remained in a sort of villeinage till very recently. Some very few instances of predial servitude have been discovered in England so late as the time of Elizabeth, and perhaps they existed even later.

When we stop and review the ground over which we

have now g() see much that is very different
we are accustomed to. We are not, however, to)p
that a simple and sufficient explanation of all th to
found in the ignorance of the people. Let us (y
firmly in mind the constitution of tribal society. I
consider the effect of the conquest of the Western E
of Rome by the warlike Teutonic trib Th r t
customs were now brought in contact wi t
and laws of Rome. They had under them) num
of subject people. It is then, perhaps, not) tl
institutions of feudalism took root and gr th
luxuriant growth, giving rise c ace to
orders of nobility and drawing e l
between the gentry and the common p

In the further consideration of our
not forget that the lords repesented in n y
tribal chiefs, while the people under tl
either the old tribe or some constituent (it.
Hence it is not strange to find them in the enjoyment of many privileges which in a vague sense proceed on the theory that each part of a tribe was independent in its own affairs. There are, first of all, duties of a Judicial nature. These were exercised by the owners of fiefs in different degrees. In France they were divided into the high, the middle, and the low jurisdiction. The first species alone conveyed the power of life and death; it was inherent in the baron and the castellan and sometimes enjoyed by a simple vavassor. The holders of the lower jurisdictions were not competent to judge in capital cases, and consequently were forced to send such criminals to the court of the superior. But in some places, a thief taken in the act might be punished with death by a lord who had only the low jurisdiction.

In England this privilege was known by the uncouth terms of *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. The high jurisdiction, however, was not very common in England except in the chartered towns. But the lord was bound to follow custom and precedents as much as was the old chief. And customs put a check in many respects on this right. Ecclesiastical lords, who were prohibited from inflicting capital punishment and were supposed to be unacquainted with



English Medieval Costumes.

the law followed in civil courts or unable to enforce it, had an officer by name of advocate or *vidame*, whose tenure of office was often feudal and hereditary. The bailiffs, provosts, and seneschals of lay lords were similar ministers, though not in general of so prominent a right in their offices, or of such eminent station as the advocates of monasteries. It seems to have been an established maxim, at least in later times, that the lord could not sit personally in judgment, but must entrust that function to his bailiffs

and vassals.[1] According to the feudal rules, the lord's vassals or peers of his court were to assist him in all his proceedings.[2] The presence of these assessors was so essential to all territorial jurisdiction that no lord, to whatever rights of justice his fief might entitle him, was qualified to exercise them unless he had at least two vassals to sit as peers in his court. In these courts cases were decided, not by the technicalities of law as it is written down in the books of professional sages, but by the dictations of common sense and natural feeling. Whenever a case was doubtful and especially where a crime not capable of clear proof was charged, the issue was decided by a combat and thus the last and final decision of the case was entrusted, as they supposed, unto God.[3]

The nobleman fought on horseback with all his arms of attack and defense. The Plebeian on foot with his club and target. The same were the weapons of the champions to whom women and ecclesiastics were permitted to entrust their rights. If the combat was intended to settle a mere pecuniary question, or a civil lawsuit, the vanquished party of course forfeited his claim and paid a fine. If he fought by proxy, the champion was liable to have his hands struck off, a regulation necessary, perhaps, to obviate the corruption of hired defenders. Even the judge himself, whose decision seemed to imply foul play, could be challenged by one of the parties, and this means of correcting the decisions of judges was resorted to very frequently. Such was the judicial system

1 Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. 2. part 2nd.

2 Notice here the plain traces of tribal society. No chief in tribal society presumed to act without his council.

3 The best statement and estimation of the judicial combat will be found in Montesquieu's celebrated work, "Esprit des Lois," bk. 28. chap. 24, 25, 26, 27.

of Continental Medieval Europe and especially of France when St. Louis erected that great code which bears the name of his Establishments.

The rules of civil and criminal proceedings, as well as the principals of legal decisions, are there laid down with much detail, but that incomparable prince, unable to overthrow the judicial combat, confined himself to discouraging it by the example of a wiser jurisprudence. It was abolished throughout the royal domain. The bailiffs who rendered justice to the king's immediate subjects, were bound to follow his own laws. He not only appealed from their sentence in his own court of peers, but listened to all complaints with a kind of patriarchal simplicity. "Many times," says the chronicler Joinville, "I have seen the good saint, after hearing mass in the summer season, lay himself at the foot of an oak in the wood of Vincennes, and make us all sit around him. When those who came and spoke to him without let of any officer, and he would ask aloud if there were any persons who had suits, and when they appeared, would bid two of his bailiffs determine their cause upon the spot."

In passing judgment on the men of the middle ages for this custom, we must remember that trial by ordeals and by battle are as old as humanity itself. Savage nations universally employ them. Trial by battle, such as here described, proceeded on the assumption that God would grant the victory only to the one who had the best right, The last trial by battle in a civil case in England occurred in the reign of Elizabeth.[1] Customs such as these are often referred to as evidence of the dense ignorance of the middle ages. Let us not forget that though we indeed find such customs in existence, they are gen-

[1] Gilchrist: "Origin and History of Ordeals," London, 1821, p. 30.

erally in the act of disappearance. The barbarous practice of duelling, which still survives, takes its rise by a similar train of reasoning.

We have dwelt to a considerable extent on feudalism, and have shown how, in every department of medieval life, it exerted an almost controlling influence. As it took many years for it to come to its full development, so its passing away was equally slow. In almost every part of Europe, its effects are felt to this day. One of the most powerful causes of its downfall was the institution of free cities and boroughs. The earliest charters of a community granted to towns in France have been commonly referred to the time of Louis VI., though it is not improbable that some cities in the south had a municipal government by custom, if not by grant, at an early period. Noyon, St. Quentin, Laon, Amiens appear to have been the first that received emancipation at the hand of this prince. The chief towns in the royal domain were successively admitted to the same privileges during the reigns of Louis VI., Louis VII., and Philip Augustus. This example was gradually followed by the peers and other barons, so that by the end of the thirteenth century the custom had prevailed over all France.

It was the gradual rise of these free cities which undermined feudalism. This shows us their great importance. It has been sometimes asserted that the crusades had a great influence in the rise of city communities. If this notion were true, this result would have repaid Europe for the crimes and miseries which attended the crusades, but it is very much exaggerated.[1] The cities of Italy obtained their internal liberties by gradual encroachments and by the concessions of the Franconian Emperors.

[1] Cf. Stubbs' "Constitutional History of England," p. 503, 623.

Those upon the Rhine owed many of their privileges to the same monarchies whose cause they had espoused in the rebellions of Germany. In France the charters granted by Louis the Fat, could hardly be connected with the first crusade, in which the crown had taken no part, and were long prior to the second. It was not until fifty years afterwards that the barons imitated his example by granting charters to their vassals, and these do not appear to have been particularly related to any of the crusades.



Punishing Offenders.

The establishment of chartered towns in France has been ascribed to deliberate policy. "Louis the Gros," says the historian Robertson, "in order to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals who controlled or gave law to the crown, first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns situated within his domain." But Hallam ascribes this measure to the pecuniary exigencies of both the king and his barons, for he says, they sold their concessions to the towns at the

highest price. Some cities, however, were indebted for success to their own courage and love of liberty. Oppressed by the exactions of their superiors, they had recourse to arms and united themselves in a common league confirmed by oath for the sake of redress. One of these associations took place at Mans as early as 1067, and, though it did not secure any charter of privileges, this combination is a proof of the spirit to which ultimately the superior classes were obliged to submit.

The privileges which the towns of France derived from their charters were very extensive. They were made capable of possessing common property and authorized to use a common seal as a symbol of their incorporation. The more oppressive and ignominious tokens of subjection, such as the fine paid to the lord for permission to marry their children, were abolished. Their payments of rent or tribute were limited both in amount and as to the actions for which they might be demanded. Some obtained an exemption from assisting their lord in war. Others were only bound to follow him when he personally commanded, and almost all limited their services to one, or at the utmost, very few days. If they were persuaded to extend this consideration, it was, like that of feudal attendance, at the cost of their superior. Their customs as to succession and other matters of private right were reduced to certainty and, for the most part, laid down in the charter of incorporation. The most valuable privilege which the chartered towns obtained was that of exemption from the jurisdiction of the royal as well as of territorial judges. They were subject to magistrates elected by themselves though, in some places, the lord participated in this choice. They were empowered to make special rules, or as we call them "by-laws," such as did not

contravene the provisions of their charter or the ordinances of the king.[1]

The middle ages were not only the age of feudalism, but they were also the "age of chivalry." Chivalry and knighthood not only exerted a great influence on the life of medieval times, but became an essential part of the literature of romance and song, and thus continued to be felt even after they had been crowded out of the sterner relations of life. In treating of chivalry we are not treating of some mere sentimental institution of medieval times, but of one that was very real and practical, and eminently suitable to the wants of a time that had as yet only dimly felt the influence of those causes which were to give rise to the hurried, scientific, practical life of the present. Our words knight and knighthood signified, originally, a boy or youth, but before the middle of the twelfth century, they had acquired the meaning, which they still retain in the French word *Chevalier*. Concerning the origin of knighthood or chivalry nothing beyond more or less probable conjecture is possible. It is known, however, that the medieval knights were in no way derived from the knights or equites of Rome, the knights of King Arthur's round table, or the Paladins of Charlemagne.

Some of the greatest scholars, like John Selden and DuCange, concur in tracing the ceremony of dubbing in knighthood to the ceremony, common amongst the Goths and the Franks, of adoption by arms. By means of a solemn investiture with warlike weapons, the parties participating in this ceremony thenceforth acquired the artificial character of father and son, not as in the Roman practice of adoption for any purpose of succession or in-

[1] Hallam, "Views," ch. 2. p. 2.

eritance, but in a purely honorable and complimentary ıanner. The Crusades had a great deal to do in the es-ıblishment of knighthood and chivalry. Vast armies 'ere then set on foot, in which feudal rights and obliga-ons had no place. But it was observed by the leaders, ıat the volunteers who flocked to the standards of the arious commanders were even more efficient as soldiers ıan the vassals whom they had hitherto commanded. It as thus shown that pay, the love of enterprise, and the rospect of plunder were quite as useful for the purpose f enlisting troops and keeping them together, as the ten-re of land and the solemnities of homage and fealty. loreover, the crusaders who survived the difficulties and angers of an expedition to Palestine were experienced eterans, ready to hire to the highest bidder and well orth the wages they received. It was probably owing to ıe crusades, that the church took the profession of arms nder her protection, and, from that time, the ceremonies f initiation into it assumed a religious as well as a mar-al character.

Nor was this by any means a merely gratuitous pat-ıage of blood-shed on her part. In the ages of faith ıd chivalry, magic and sorcery were the terrors alike of ıe pious and the brave, and the blessings of the priests ı the warrior's weapons and armor were always re-ırded as the surest safe-guard against the influence of ostile spells and enchantments.[1] To distinguished soldiers the cross, the honors and benefits of knighthood could ırdly be refused on the ground that they did not possess sufficient property qualification, of which they had, in ct, deprived themselves in order to procure their equip-ents for the war. Thus the conception of knighthood as

[1] Stubbs' Const. Hist., II. p. 270. Grose: "Military Antiqu. I. p. 60,

something wholly distinct from and independent of feudalism, both as a social condition and a personal dignity, was formed, and rapidly gained ground. It was then that the analogy was first detected, which was afterward more fully developed, between the order of knighthood and the order of priesthood. Then followed the union of monachism and chivalry, effected by the establishment of the religious orders, of which the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitalers were the most eminent examples.

In their indifference to the distinctions of race and nationality, these orders accommodated themselves to the spirit which by that time had become characteristic of chivalry, which was already regarded, like the church, as an universal institution, comprising and knitting together the whole warrior caste of Christendom into one great fraternity, irrespective alike of feudal subordination or territorial boundaries. Somewhat later the adoption of hereditary sir-names and armorial bearings, as we have already pointed out, marked the existence of a large class, who, though considered noble, were, either from the subdivision of fiefs or from the effects of the custom of primogeniture, not possessed of sufficient property to support them as their rank required. To them only two callings were generally open, that of the church-man and that of the soldier; and the latter, as a rule, possessed greater attraction than the former at that time of much license and little learning. Hence, the favorite expedient for a man of birth, though not of fortune, was to attach himself to some prince or magnate, in whose military service he was sure of an adequate maintenance, and might hope for even a rich reward in the shape of booty or ransom.[1]

1 Saint Palaye: "Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalier," Vol. I. p. 363, 364.

From a very early stage in the development of chivalry we meet with the singular institution of brotherhood in arms, and, from it, the ultimate origin, if not of the religious fraternities, at any rate of the military companionship is generally derived.[1] By this institution, a relation was created between two or more knights by voluntary agreement, which was regarded as more intimate than those founded on the relationship of blood. Brothers in arms were supposed to be partners in all things save the affections of their lady loves. They shared in every danger and every success, and each was expected to vindicate the honor of the other as promptly and zealousy as his own. Their engagements usually lasted through life, but sometimes only for a specified period or during the continuance of special circumstances. Romance and traditions speak of strange rites, the mingling and even drinking of blood, as having in the remote ages marked the beginning of these martial and fraternal associations.[2] But in later times, they were generally made known by a formal exchanged of weapons and armor



Knight Templar.

In warfare, it was customary for knights, who were thus allied, to appear in similar armor having the same badges so that their enemies might not know with which them they were in conflict, and that their friends might

[1] Du Cange: "Dissertation sur Joinville," xxi.
[2] Du Cange: "Dissertation sur Joinville," xxi.

not accord more applause to one than to another for his prowess in the field. It seems likely enough, therefore, that when the Crusades had commenced the process of transforming feudalism into chivalry, bodies of men, free indeed from monastic obligations, united by engagements of fidelity, wearing a common uniform or livery, and naming themselves after some special symbol or some patron saint of their adoption, were in existence. Such bodies raised by, or placed under the command of, a sovereign or grand master, regulated by statutes and enriched by ecclesiastical endowments, would have been exactly similar to the order of the "Golden Fleece" in Burgundy, and similar orders in later times.

The knight who had "won his spurs" was more highly regarded than the knight who succeeded to them as an incident of his feudal tenure. In the eye of the law they were equal. But it was the first, and not the second who was welcomed in court and camp, and who was invited to the "round tables." Thus it became the ambition of every aspirant to knighthood to gain it by his exploits rather than to claim it merely as his right by virtue of his position and estate, no one, however, could be legitimately created a knight who was not a gentleman of "name and arms," that is, who was not at least descended from grandparents, who were, on both sides, entitled to armorial bearings, and this condition is embodied in the statutes of every body of knighthood, religious or military, which can trace its origin to a period when chivalry, was a social institution.[2]

We are now fairly launched into the consideration of the various orders of chivalry. In this it is necessary for

[1] Du Cange: "Dissertations sur Joinville," xxi.
[2] Nicholas: "British Orders of Knighthood," Vol. I. pt. v.

to remember wherein they differed from the orders of bility of feudalism. When the system became fully veloped, knighthood proper was generally preceded by o preparatory stages, in which the candidate was successively a *page* and then a *squire*. In the ordinary course a chivalrous education, the successive conditions of age and squire were passed through in boyhood and outh, and the condition of knighthood was reached in rly manhood. In fact, every feudal court and castle was



A Tournament

school, in which the sons of the sovereign and his vassals, of the feudary and his vassals, generally together with ose of some of their allies or friends, were reared in the inciples and habituated to the customs and observances chivalry. Although princes and great personages were rely actual pages or squires, the moral and physical discline, through which they passed was not, in any important particular, different from that to which candidates of lower standing were subjected.[1]

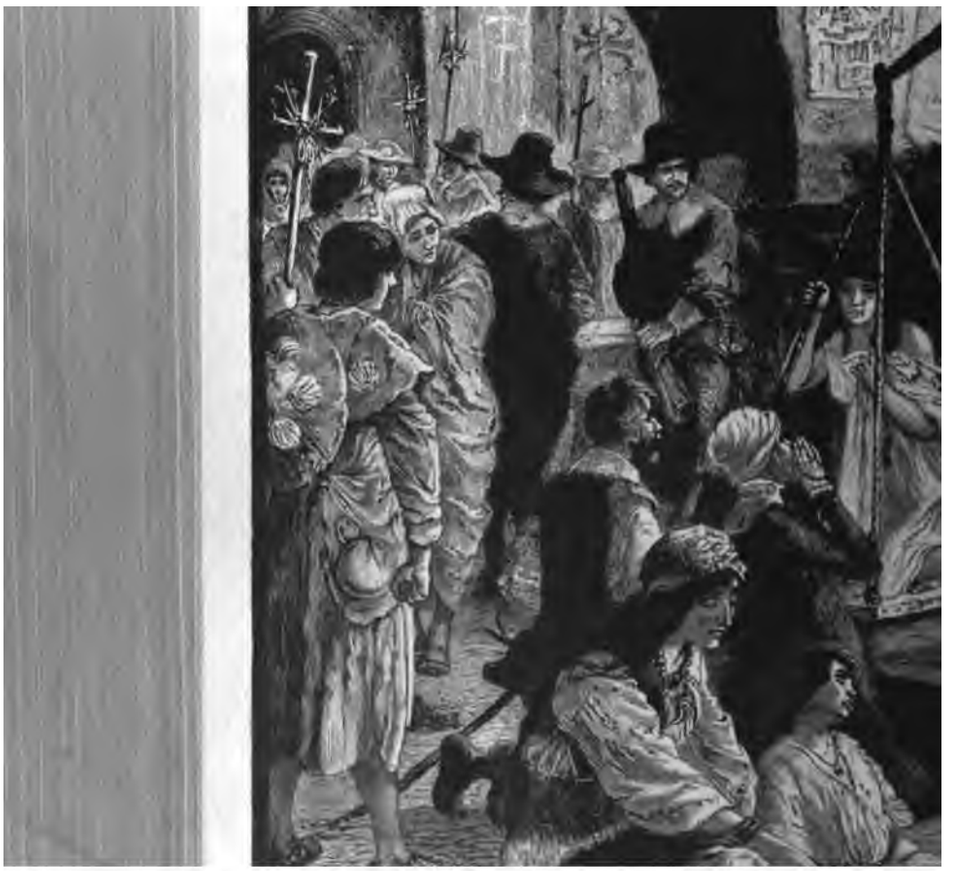
[1] Sainte Palaye: "Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalier," Vol. I. p. 86.

The page, or as he was more anciently and more correctly called the "valet" or "damoiseau," commenced his service and instruction when he was between seven and eight years old, and continued in the same for seven or eight years longer. He acted as the constant personal attendant of his master and mistress. He waited on them in their hall and accompanied them in the chase, served the lady in her bower, and followed the lord to the camp From the chaplain and his mistress and her *demoiselles*, he learned the rudiments of religion, of rectitude, and of love. From his master and his squires, the page acquired the elements of military exercise, to cast a spear or dart, to sustain a shield, and to march with the measured tread of a soldier. From his master and his huntsmen and falconers, he learned the mysteries of the woods and rivers, or in other words, the rules and practices of hunting and hawking.

When he was between fifteen and sixteen he became a squire, but no sudden or great alteration was made in his mode of life. He continued to wait at dinner with the pages, although in a manner more dignified, according to the notions of the age. He not only served but carved and helped the dishes, proffered the first or principal cup of wine to his master and his guests, and carried to them the basin, ewer, or napkin when they washed their hands before and after meat. He assisted in clearing the hall for dancing or minstrelsy, and laid the tables for chess or draughts, and he also shared in the pastimes, for which he had made preparation. He brought his master the *vin de coucher* (the wine for the night), and made his early *refection* ready for him in the morning, but his military exercises and athletic sports occupied an always increasing portion of the day. He accustomed himself to

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ICHES SCALE

ride the "great horse," to tilt at the quintain, to wield the battle-ax, to swim and climb, to run and leap, and to bear the weight and overcome the embarrassments of armor.

He inured himself to the vicissitudes of heat and cold, and voluntarily suffered the pangs or inconveniences of hunger and thirst, fatigue and sleeplessness. It was then, too, that he chose his lady-love, whom he was expected to regard with an adoration at once earnest, respectful, and the more meritorious if concealed. When it was considered that he had made sufficient advancement in his military accomplishments, he took his sword to the priest, who laid it on the altar, blessed it, and returned it to him.[1] Afterwards, he either remained with his early master, relegating most of his domestic duties to his younger companions, or he entered the service of some valliant and adventurous lord or knight of his own selection. He now became a *squire of the body*, and truly an *armiger* or *scutifer*, for he bore the shield and armor of his leader to the field, and, what was a task of no small difficulty and hazard, assisted him to don his armor and mount his horse. It was his duty also to display and guard in battle the banner of the baron or banneret or the pennon of the knight. He raised his master from the ground, if he were unhorsed, and supplied him with a horse if his was disabled or killed. He received and kept prisoners if any were taken. He fought by his master's side if he were unequally matched, attempted to rescue him if captured, bore him to a place of safety if wounded, and buried him honorably when dead.

After he had worthily and bravely borne himself for six or seven years as a squire, the time came when it was

[1] Sainte Pelaye, "Memoires," Vol. I. p. 2.



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After he had worthily and bravely borne himself for six or seven years as a squire, the time came when it was

[1] Sainte Pelaye, "Memoires," Vol. I. p. 2.

fitting that he should be made a knight. Two modes of conferring knighthood appear to have prevailed from a very early period in all countries where chivalry was known, one being much more ceremonious than the other. In both the essential portion seems to have consisted of the embrace and the blow on the shoulders, with the utterance of solemn



Knighthood.

words.[1] In times of peace the ancient custom was to confer the dignity with many ceremonial observances. We must remember that chivalry was largely influenced by the

[1] This was technically known as the *accolade*. Squires were anxious to have this given only by some distinguished knight. A romantic relationship was supposed to accrue from it between the parties.

church, consequently the ceremonies were, to a certain extent, of a religious nature. It will give us a good idea of life and times in the middle ages to glance at these ceremonies.

The process of inauguration was commenced in the evening by placing the candidate under the care of "two esquires of honor, grave and well seen in courtship, and also nurtured in the feats of chivalry, who were to be governors in all things relating to him". Under their direction, to begin with, a barber shaved him and cut his hair. He was then conducted by them to his appointed chamber, hung within and without with linen and covered with rich clothes, where a bath was prepared, into which, after they had undressed him, he entered. While he was in the bath two "ancient and grave knights" attended him "to inform, instruct, and counsel him, touching the order and feats of chivalry," and when they had fulfilled their mission, they poured some of the water of the bath over his shoulders, signing the left shoulder with the cross, and retired. He was then taken from the bath and put into a plain bed without hangings, in which he remained until his body was dry, when the two esquires put on him a white shirt and a robe of russet with long sleeves, having a hood like that of a hermit.

Then the two knights returned and led him to the chapel, the esquires going before them sporting and dancing with the minstrels making melody and when they had been served with wines and spices went away, leaving only the candidate, the esquires, the priest, the chandler, and the watch, who kept the vigil of arms until sunrise, or managed to pass the night "in bestowing himself in prayers". At day-break he confessed to the priest, heard matins, and communicated in the mass, offering a taper and a piece of

money stuck in it as near the lighted end as possible, the first "to the honor of God", and the second "to the honor of the person who made him a knight". Afterwards he was taken back to his chamber and remained in bed until the knights, esquires, and minstrels went to him and aroused him. The knights then dressed him in distinctive garments and mounting their horses rode with him to the hall where



Procession in the 15th Century.

the candidate was to receive knighthood. His future squire was to ride before him bare-headed, bearing his sword by the point in its scabbard, with his spurs hanging from its hilt.

When everything was prepared, the prince or subject who was to knight him came into the hall, and, the candidate's sword and spurs having been presented to

him, he held the right spur to the "most noble and gentle knight" present, and directed him to fasten it on the candidate's right heel, which he accordingly did, kneeling on one knee and putting the candidate's right foot on his knee, signing the candidate's knee with the cross. In like manner, by another "noble and gentle knight" the left spur was fastened to his left heel. Then he, who was to create the knight, took the sword and girt him with it, and, embracing him, he lifted his right hand and smote him on the neck or shoulder, saying, "Be thou a good knight," and kissed him. When this was done, they all went to the chapel with much music, and the new knight laying his right hand on the altar, promised to support and defend the church, and, ungirting his sword, offered it on the altar.[1]

Of necessity, these ceremonies could not be gone through with in times of war. In such cases all that was necessary was the accolade. Some rather amusing instances of this occur in the annals, which illustrate knightly punctiliousness. A knight was disgraced if he surrendered himself prisoner to one not a knight, such misfortunes sometimes occurred. At times when such a calamity was impending, the fighters suspended hostilities long enough to allow the vanquished knight time enough to bestow the honor of knighthood upon his successful antagonist. He could then surrender himself without disgrace, for his foe was now a "noble knight." In course of time the ceremonial form dropped out of common usage.

Knights were divided into two classes, knight ban-

[1] Most of these ceremonies were of more or less religious significance. Thus the bath is significant of purity of soul. The bed of the rest he was hereafter to enjoy in Paradise, the red over-garment showed his resolution to shed his blood for the church if necessary. Mills: "History of Chivalry," Vol. I. p. 49.

nerets and knight bachelors. The only distinction between them would appear in time of battle. The knight banneret was entitled to carry his own banner and had under his command a more or less extensive body of men. All knights whether bachelors or bannerets were escorted by their squires. Every knight was entitled to bear a *pennon*, and every squire a *pencel*. All these flags were of a convenient size to be carried on a lance. They were distinguished by their form. The banner was cut square, the pennon was pointed or forked at its extremity, the pencel ended in a single tail or streamer.[1]

The tournament was the great feature of chivalry. They were the military games of the age; they were courteous battles between two parties of mailed warriors. All of Europe delighted in these contests. The weapons with which they fought were generally so prepared that but a small amount of danger was to be feared from them. At times the tournaments assumed an international character; heralds announced at foreign courts the intentions of their sovereigns to hold a tournament at a designated time and place, and invited "all those who valued their knighthood and respected dames and maidens to repair to the appointed city and prove their chivalry." In Germany the country was divided off in four districts in which tournaments were held by rotation.

Safe conducts were allowed to foreign knights who wished to come to a trial of skill with the knights of the country. All, however, were not allowed to engage in the contest. "None could tourney who had blasphemed God, or offended the ladies," or in general who failed in any knightly duties. The place where a tournament was held was duly prepared. It was known as the *list*. It was

[1] Grose: "Mil. Ant." Vol. II. p. 256.

ated with all the wealth of feudal times. "Besides orgeous arrays of heraldic insignia were the cham- ' tents; the galleries, which were made to contain the l and joyous spectators, were covered with tapestry, senting chivalry both in its amorous and warlike s; on one side the knight with his bright faulchion ng away hosts of and on the other ing at the feet auty." On the f the tournament nights were con- d with many cer- ies to the place nbat. Their arms duly examined, then they were ged in order. being in readi- he heralds cried *ssez Aller.*" The which divided wo parties were diately slack- and the cava-



Entrance to the Tournament.

dressing their spears to their rests and commending selves to their mistresses, dashed to the encounter the trumpets sounded the beautiful point of chivalry ery man to do his "devoir." One encounter did not e the matter, the fight continued. Heralds watched ncounter and noted points in honor of this or that it. Thus if one knight succeeded in breaking his on the helmet of an opposing knight it counted him

ten points, etc. The contest came to an end when th lord of the tournament dropped his warder, thereupon th banners were folded and the amusements ended.

Feasting and merry-making followed the contest. T knights, gaily attired, repaired to the festival hall, ea accompanied by "a lady bright." The most distinguish knights took their place near the raised upper end of t



An Apothecary's Shop in Olden Times.

long table. The minstrels struck up their music. He alds presented to the ladies those knights who had esp ially distinguished themselves. The "queen of beauty a love" presented the prizes. Thanks were rendered visiting knights from foreign countries. Dancing clos the festivities for the day.[1]

[1] This account is extracted from Mills: "History of Chivalry," V I. p. 259 *et seq.*

A young knight, who had just been raised to the dignity of knighthood, generally set out in search of adventures. He was known as a *knight-errant*. His object was to gain experience in all knightly exercises. When two such wandering knights met they must needs have a personal set-to to determine which was the more skillful. Such contests were termed *jousts*. Sometimes one knight-errant would station himself at some place where he would be sure to find some one with whom to joust; at the ford of a river, or where four roads met. They furthermore made diligent inquiry for adventures, and at prominent places they would post up a notice where they could be found. In short, they were "spoiling for a fight," and took all manner of ways to be accommodated.[1]

Although simple knighthood has gone out of use on the continent of Europe, there are innumerable grand crosses, commanderies, and companions of a formidable assortment of orders in almost every part of the world, from that of the Golden Fleece of Spain and Austria to those of St. Charles of the pigmy republic of Monaco, and of King Kamehameha of the Sandwich Islands. But with the exception of the orders of Golden Fleece, founded by Philip II., duke of Burgundy, in 1429, and of the Annunciation founded by Charles III., duke of Savoy, in 1518, none of the military, as distinguished from the religious orders of knighthood, have any actual historical connection with chivalry. In England there are seven orders of knighthood—the Garter, the Thistle, St. Patrick, the Bath, the Star of India, St. Michael and St. George, and the Indian Empire. By the end of the fourteenth century, the order of knighthood, as an order formally and par-

[1] Cutts: "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," p. 353 *et seq.*

ticularly dedicated to the service of "God and the ladies" and bound by solemn and express engagements to vindicate justice, to avenge wrong, and to defend the weak, unprotected, and oppressed, had disappeared.

It was with such professed objects however, that chivalry manifested itself during the early and more vigorous stages of its development, and played its part among the



School in Olden Times.

chief and certainly among the most remarkable of those influences that molded the form and directed the course of western civilization in medieval times. The common offspring of feudalism and the church, it derived its resources and its sanctions from each of its parents in turn and stood forth at once the spiritual representative of the one, and the temporal representative of the other. Whatever may have been its inherent vices and defects, it is at any

rate, indisputable that it embodied some of the noblest sentiments and engendered many of the worthy actions of contemporary mankind.

It animated poetry and it created romance and heraldry; it determined individual affairs, modified the policy of states, and generally inspired the energies while it controlled the defense of all those nations which were then, as they now are, the most enlightened as well as the most powerful in the world. Battles were commenced with religious celebrations, and armies esteemed themselves happy if they marched beneath a consecrated standard. Even in the field, and while engaged in mortal conflict, Christian knights enjoyed the duties and courtesies of their order and, if they were taken prisoner, they could count on consideration from their captors and on their freedom, when they paid their stipulated ransom. Moreover, when they took prisoners they could release them on parole to raise their ransoms, confident that they would return to captivity if the ransom could not be raised. It is indeed from the custom of chivalry that the best and most humane portions of the laws of war, in so far as actual combatants are concerned, have their origin.

It is not an altogether easy task to form a just estimation of chivalry. At the present day we are inclined to ridicule many of the ideas of chivalry, but all Europe was swayed by them, and it is necessary for us to weigh them well. The virtues it professed to teach were in many cases excellent. They included valor, loyalty, courtesy, and munificence. Valor was of course the primary qualification of a knight, but loyalty, which implied the strictest fidelity to all his engagements, to his sovereign, his lady-love, and his friends and foes alike, was only second to it in importance. Courtesy meant not only cer-

emonious politeness, but also spontaneous modesty of riage, self-denial, and careful respect for the feeling others. Munificence meant a disdain for money, r ness to relieve want and reward services, hospitality, liberality in all things. We know enough of humar ture to know that no discipline or watchfulness would ceed in making every member of an association live f



Execution in the Middle Ages.

up to the ideas here set forth. It is not strange if s understood courtesy to consist of courtly acts to equal superiors, but arrogant haughtiness to inferiors, or t extravagance was masqueraded as munificence. We know there is such a thing even at the present day being extremely polite, courtly, chivalrous, and all t sort of thing, and yet destitute of all the better traits character. This was so during the age of chivalry. S

se blemishes are inherent in human nature, and not the institution of chivalry.

Probably in no one respect is the weakness of chivy more apparent than in the relation between the sexes. e of the first duties of knighthood was to protect the ak, this of course included ladies. It is not perps strange that devotion to ladies became one of the at hobbies of chivalry. To have some lady-love was *sine qua non* of page, squire, and knight. This rontic notion was carried to a ridiculous extent. The a derived from romantic literature that the principal ty of knights was to roam around rescuing unfortue females from all sorts of predicaments is, of course, exaggeration. But still it remains true, that quite a ge portion of all knightly exertions was undertaken to ase some lady-love. This love was not of the Platonic id either. So it is not strange that, although at no riod were women held in greater outward respect by n, it is probably equally true that at no period did re license in the association of the sexes prevail.

Before going farther it may be well to form a mental ture of life during the middle ages, viewed in the mellow ht of feudalism and chivalry. The country was somewhat wild: the forests were unsubdued over large sections; d there were quite large tracts of unclosed land. The wns were surrounded by walls having here and there lofty wers. The streets were narrow. The villages consisted a group of cottages scattered round a wide green, with village cross in the middle and a may-pole beside it. astles crowned the hills, manor houses surrounded by de mansions were to be found in the valleys, and hermitges stood by lonely and dangerous fords. There were t few roads except [illegible] in the old Roman

provinces, in other sections of the country they were more like green lanes with a narrow beaten track in the middle. Well trodden bridle paths led from village to village.

Strange and picturesque sights were to be seen. The young knight full of ambition to make himself a name, and to win favor in the sight of his lady-love, rode along accompanied by his squire, anxious to find some adventure to distinguish himself, or to meet with another like-minded knight with whom to cross his lance. The feudal lord with his armed retainers was to be seen riding forth from his castle, and hunting parties scoured the woods. The gentlemen would ride by in silks and velvets, in plumed hat and enameled belt, attended by his servants. The minstrel, in gay coat, sang snatches of lays as he wandered along from hall to castle. The more stately group of knights and squires hurrying along were on their way to attend some tournament. It was a wild land the people were rude, the times lawless, but every mile had its pictures for the artist, and every day offered its chance for adventure.[1]

Every one has heard of the Crusades. Probably no one set of causes contributed more to emphasize all the institutions of the middle ages than did the Crusades. They built up the Catholic Church; they contributed largely to the establishment of chivalry, though, as we shall see one of their final results was the breaking up of feudalism. The Crusades were a series of wars, undertaken professedly for the purpose of delivering the holy land from the dominion of the infidel, and so named from the cross worn as a badge by those who devoted themselves to the enterprise. These wars, it was held, were rendered necessary not only

1 Consult Cutts: "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages," London, 1872, p. 353.

the profanation involved in the fact of Mohammedan rule
er the country which had been the cradle and birth-place
Christianity, but by the insults and injuries constantly
flicted on Christian pilgrims.

From age to age, the belief had been growing that no
ork could conduce more to the soul's health, than a visit
the holy places of Palestine. In proportion to the rap-
ity with which this belief had spread over the Christian



Hall in House of a Lord.

orld, a feeling of vehement indignation was awakened by
e likelihood, if not certainty, that the Saracen conqueror
ould put his ban on the performance of that which was
emed to be an act of the highest Christian duty. The
citals of the wrongs perpetrated on Christian pilgrims,
ent far towards fanning into flame the feelings which the
opes had hitherto failed to awaken in sufficient strength.
he idea of an armed host, which should inflict summary

vengeance upon the oppressors of the Christians, had already dawned on the mind of the great Hildebrand, Gregory the Seventh. It had been urged by his successor, Victor the Third, but neither had struck the right chord. Such enterprises can never be set in motion with any solid results, except when the flood-tide of popular feeling gives its own weight to the sanction of religious authority.

At that time, there appeared a poor, withered-looking monk, by the name of Peter the Hermit, with the stature and ungainliness of a dwarf. Emaciated by the austerities of his self imposed discipline, this man, who had forsaken his wife and abandoned his military standard, had returned from the holy land with his heart on fire, not so much from the memory of the hardships which he had himself undergone, as for the cruelties and tortures which he had seen inflicted on his fellow Christians. Armed with the special blessing of Pope Urban the Second, he mounted his ass and, with bare head and feet, carrying a huge crucifix, traversed the German lands rousing everywhere the incontrollable indignation, which devoured his own soul His vehemence carried all before him, none the less, perhaps, because he bade them remember, that no sins were too heinous to be washed away by the water of the Jordan, no evil habits too deadly to be condoned by the one good work which would make them champions of the cross.[1]

Pope Urban however and his counselors knew well that, before the fatal die could be prudently cast, a serious task lay before them. The system of feudalism, as we have tried to show, substituted personal ascendency for the dominion of a central, general law; and, wherever the personal bond failed, their resort was inevitably to private war.

[1] Michaud: Hist. des Croisades, I. 432.

e practice of such wars had become virtually an organ-
l trade, and if a large proportion of the population should
lrawn away to fight against the infidels in Palestine, those
o remained at home would be without defense. Such
rs were therefore formally condemned. The women
l the clergy, merchants and husbandmen were placed
ler the special protection of the church, and the truce of
l was solemnly confirmed.



The First Proof.

Of the thousands who hastened to put on the badge, great number were animated probably by the most interested motives, while some had their eyes fixed on results of more politic calculations. For the multi- e at large, there was the paramount attraction of an erprise, which was put before them as a new mode of vation, that enabled the layman without laying aside habits of wild license, to reach a height of perfection

scarcely to be attained by the austere monk or the m devoted priest. Nay, more, the assumption of the cr set the debtor free from his creditor so long as he w the sacred badge; opened the prison door for the male tor, annulled the jurisdiction of the lord over the burg or peasant; and enabled the priest and the monk to cape from the monotony of the parish and the clois

It might be thought that these privileges would hard on the creditors, the capitalists, and the usurers, these reaped the most solid benefits. The princes w bound themselves by the vow must provide equipme for themselves and their followers, and carry with th sums of money sufficient for their needs. These sums mu be raised by loan or mortgage; and, as all wished to g horses, arms, and money, in exchange for lands, the f mer became inordinately dear, the latter absurdly che Thus the real gain lay on the side of the merchant a the trader or of the land owner who was prudent enou to add to his own domains by availing himself of the n cessities of his neighbors.[1]

All this, however, had been effected by the authori and sanction of the Holy See, which had taken under protection the dominion of all crusading princes. It w for the pope to decide whether those who had taken t vow should set off at once, whether some time of gra should be allowed, or whether the vows should be rem ted altogether. The pope became, therefore, possessed a dispensing power, which placed him above all oth sovereigns. His gains, moreover, were immediate. T Crusades tended to merge the smaller into larger fie which again were absorbed into the royal domain, th largely promoting that growth of the sovereign pow

[1] Wilken: "Geschichte der Kreuzzuge, I. 347-468.

hat in th end, broke up the feudal . T
esults bel to the distant future, t p
nabled, rather he was constrained, to h
nto every land, both to enlist soldiers un t
f the cross, and to collect money for their

He became, thus, at once the admin or
evenues, that were raised partly by
posed as a necessary obligation on the cle ,
by the voluntary contributions of the ty. Wi
pope, the ecclesiastical body generally acquired
power. The lands of the church, though money m
borrowed upon them, could not be alienated, t it
only in comparatively few instances that it w
to burden them at all. The monastic houses mi it
some of their members to the Holy Land, the rest re
at home and became mortgagees or trustees of the
belonging to the crusaders. If these died with t
the guardians became the absolute owners; and c
who returned, not a few withdrew into a cloister,
dowed with their worldly goods the last place of r
they had chosen.[1] The narrative of the Crusades brings out with sufficient clearness, both their causes and their consequences. While the popular impulse which led to them could not issue any vigorous action without the sanction of religion, the mere authority even of the popes was powerless to set Latin Christendom in motion until popular indignation had reached the fever heat.

In reading the history of the crusades, the details of which can not, by the general character of this work form a part of the present chapter, we are able to watch the effects of enterprises in changing the face, not only of the East, but of the West, securing to the popes, the exact-

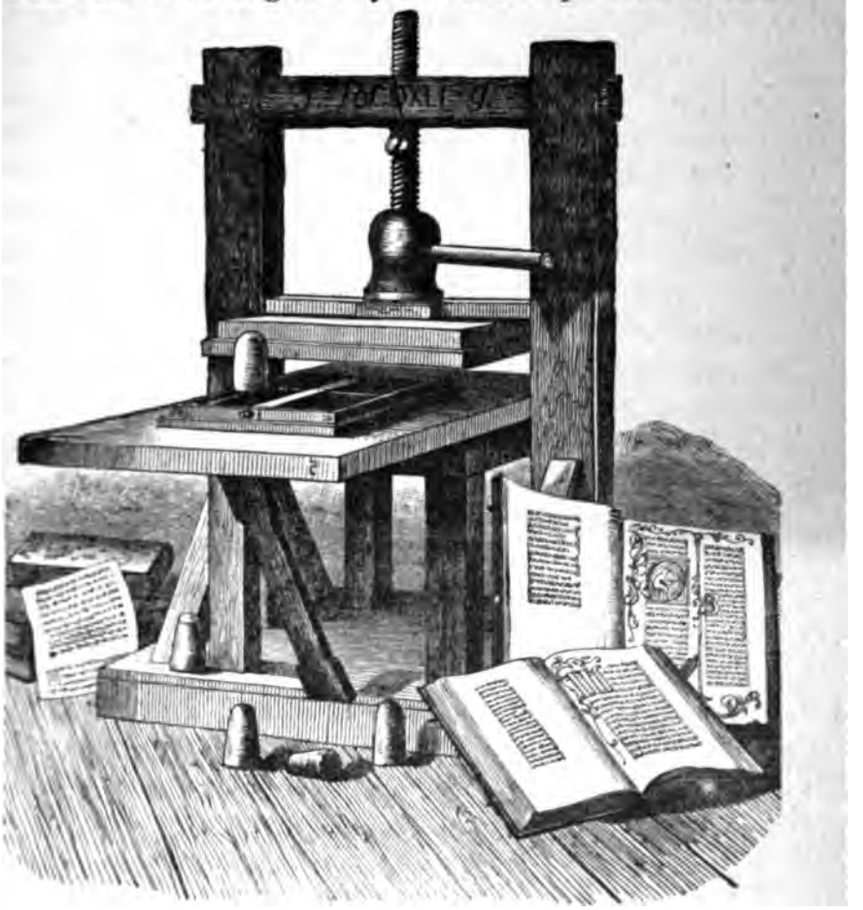
[1] G. W. Cox: "Crusades."

ion and administration of vast revenues and of a dispensing power still more momentous in its issue, strengthening and extending royal authority by the absorption of fiefs, but for the moment increasing in incomparably larger measure the wealth and influence of the clergy. We can see the introduction of feudal principles into Jerusalem and Constantinople, and can likewise mark the effects that followed the substitution of the laws of Jerusalem for the code of Rome. The story shows us, that the contact of western with eastern Christendom brought about, in some respects, results precisely opposite to those which were anticipated from it, and that the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople[1] rendered hopeless that union of the churches which Pope Innocent III. had regarded as its certain fruit.

But if the Crusades thus disappointed the expectations of their promoters, they achieved some results, the benefits of which have been felt from that day to the present. They failed indeed to establish the permanent dominion of Latin Christendom, but they prolonged for nearly four centuries the life of the Eastern Empire, and by so doing, they arrested the time of Mohammedan conquests in the East. They saved the Italian, perhaps even the more northern lands of Europe from a tyranny, which has blasted the fairest regions of the earth, and if they added fuel to the flame of theological hatred between the Greek and Latin churches, if they intensified the feeling of suspicion and dislike between the western and the eastern Christians, they yet opened the way for an interchange of thought and learning, that had its result in the revival of letters and in the religious reformation that followed that revival. If again of their leaders, some showed

[1] Above p. 358.

themselves men of cruelty and insatiable greed, there were others who, like Tancred, approached the ideal of the knightly chivalry of a later generation, and others again whose self-sacrificing charity and heroic patience furnish



The First Printing Press.

an example for all time. The ulterior results of the Crusades were the breaking of the feudal system, the abolition of serfdom, the supremacy of a common law over the independent jurisdiction of chiefs, and if for the time they led to deeds of iniquity which it would be monstrous even

to palliate, it must yet be admitted, that, in their influence on later ages, the evil has been assuredly outweighed by the good.[1]

It is necessary for us to study the Catholic Church of the middle ages. The influence and power of the Catholic church during these ages were so great, its impress on the history of the times was so incisive, that the period in question is sometimes known as the age of church rule. Our subject calls for no analysis of the doctrines of the church, but we simply want to know the nature of its power, and the character of its influence. We must not forget that the possession of land was a great source of power especially in the earlier portion of the middle ages. Though the especial domain of the church was in matters spiritual, still it has always been anxious to possess secular power. We find therefore the church in the middle ages gaining control of as much land as possible.

The church, as an organized body, never received any territorial endowments by law, but the voluntary gifts of princes as well as their subjects supplied the place of the legal provision. Large private estates, or, as they were called, patrimonies, not only in their own, but even in distant countries, sustained the dignity of the principal sees of the bishops and especially that of Rome. Many churches possessed seven or eight thousand mansi, meaning so many little landed estates. A church with but two thousand of these mansi was not esteemed especially rich. It must be remarked that much land was wild and uncultivated. Monasteries acquired legitimate riches by the culture of such tracts and by the prudent management of their revenues, which were less exposed to the ordinary

1 In the general estimation of the Crusades, we have followed the opinion and the text of Sir. G. Cox's "Crusades."



THE ALCHEMIST.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

means of dissipation than those of laymen. Their wealth, continually accumulating, enabled them to become the regular purchasers of landed estates. Especially was this the case in the times of the Crusades, when the fiefs of the nobility were constantly in the market for sale or mortgage.

If the possessions of ecclesiastical communities had all been as fairly earned, we could not complain, but other



May Festival in the Middle Ages.

sources of this wealth were less pure.[1] Those who entered a monastery frequently put their whole estates into the common stock, and even the children of rich parents were expected to make a donation of land on assuming the cowl. Some gave their property to the church before entering on military expeditions; gifts were made by some

[1] Hallam, "Middle Ages," ch. vii.

to take effect after their lives, and many bequests were made by individuals on their death-beds. Even these legacies to charitable purposes, the administration of which was generally given to the clergy, were frequently applied to their own benefit. They failed not, above all, to inculcate upon a wealthy sinner that no atonement could be so acceptable to heaven as liberal presents to its earthly delegates. To die without allotting a portion of worldly wealth to pious orders was accounted almost like suicide, or the refusal of the last sacraments, and hence intestacy passed for a sort of fraud upon the church, which she punished by taking the administration of the deceased into her own hands. This, however, was peculiar to England and seems to have been the case there only between the reigns of Henry III. and Edward III.

The church lands enjoyed an immunity from taxes, though not, as we have remarked above in general, from military service when held by feudal tenure. This being the case, we can understand how lay-proprietors acquired the custom of granting their estates to the church, but receiving the same back as a fief or lease. Such lands were now exempted from public burdens since they were church lands. Sometimes the monks misused their knowledge of writing for the purpose of forging charters in their favor, which might easily impose upon an age in which but comparatively few persons could write and the more so, since it has acquired a peculiar science to detect these frauds in modern times.[1] As an additional source of revenue and in imitation of a Jewish law, the payment of tithes was recommended or enjoined.

Yet there were many obstacles to the clergy in their acquisition of opulence. There was a return wave of

[1] Hallam, l. c.

violence that set sometimes very strongly against them. In times of barbarous violence, nothing can thoroughly compensate for the inferiority of physical strength and prowess. The ecclesiastical history of the middle ages presents one long continuation of fraud against robbery, of acquisitions, made by the church through such means as we have just mentioned, torn from her in turn by lawless power. Those very men, who, in the hour of sickness



House of a Rich Burgher of the 15th Century.

and impending death, showered the gifts of expiatory devotion upon her altars, passed the sunshine of their lives in sacrilegious plunder. Notwithstanding the frequent instances of extreme reverence for religious institutions among the nobility, we should be deceived in supposing this to be their general character. Rapacity, not less than that of the abbots, was commonly united with a daring fierceness that the abbots could not resist. In every country we find continual lamentation over the plunder of ecclesiastical possessions. Charles Martel is reproached with

having given the first notorious example of such spoliation. If it had not been for the draw-backs, the clergy must, one must imagine, have almost acquired the exclusive property of the soil. They did enjoy nearly one-half of England and, in some countries of Europe, a still greater proportion.[1] The great age of monasteries in England was the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. The revenue of the English church in 1337 amounted to over seven hundred thousand marks per annum.

Among the causes which served to increase the power of the church, was the right and power of excommunication, in an age of superstition this became a weapon of great power. Whatever opinions may be entertained as to its religious efficacy, excommunication was originally nothing more in appearance than an exercise of a right which every society claims, namely, the expulsion of refractory members from its body. No direct temporal disadvantages attended this penalty for several ages: but, as it was the most severe of spiritual censures and tended to exclude the object of it not only from a participation in just rights but, in a considerable degree, from the intercourse of Christian society, it was used sparingly and only upon the gravest occasions. Gradually, as the church became more powerful and more imperious, excommunications were issued upon every provocation, rather as a weapon af ecclesiastical warfare than with any regard to its original intention. Very soon, others than spiritual penalties were added to the consequences of excommunication.

By the common law of England, for instance, an excommunicated person was incapable of being a witness, or of bringing an action, and he might be detained in prison

[1] Turner: "History of England," Vol. III. p. 45. MacPherson: "Annals of Commerce."

until he obtained absolution.[1] By the Establishments of St. Louis, his estate or person might be attached by the magistrate. These actual penalties were attended by marks of abhorrence and ignominy, still more calculated to make an impression on ordinary minds. They were to be shunned, like men infected with leprosy, by their servants, their friends, and their families. Two attendants only, if we trace a current history, remained with Robert, king of France, who on account of an irregular marriage was put under this ban by Gregory V., and these threw all the meats which had passed his table into the fire. Indeed, the mere intercourse with a prescribed person incurred what is called the lesser ex-communication, or prevention of the sacraments, and required penance and absolution. In some cases a bier was set before the door of the ex-communicated individual and stones thrown at his windows. Everywhere the excommunicated were debarred regular sepulcher.[2]

But ex-communication which attacked only one and perhaps a hardened sinner was not always efficacious, so the church had recourse to a more comprehensive punishment. For the offense of a nobleman, she put a county—for that of a prince, his entire kingdom, under an interdict or suspension of religious offices. No stretch of her power was perhaps so cruel as this. During an interdict, the churches were closed, the bells silent, and dead unburied; no rites but those of baptism and extreme unction were performed. The penalty fell upon those who had neither protection nor could have prevented the offense; and the offense was often but a private dispute in which the pride of a pope or bishop had been wounded. This was the main-spring of

[1] "Coke on Littleton" [Thorne. ed.] Vol. III. p. 390 *et seq.*

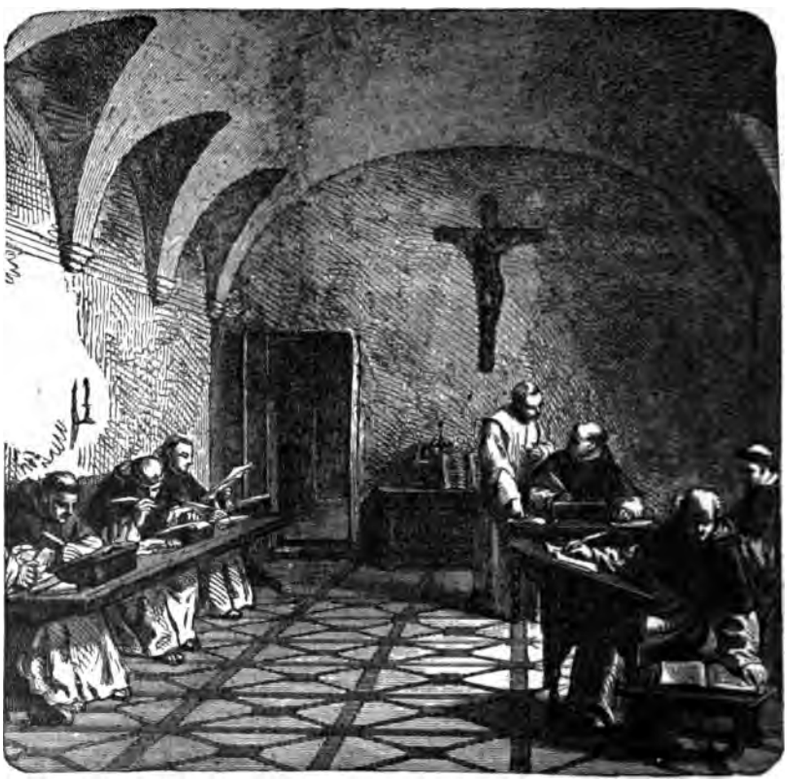
[2] Du Cange, sub voce: Imblocatus.

The great reformer, and in fact the founder of the as-
ıdency of the church, in the middle ages was Pope
egory VII., or as he was called before being elected to
Holy See, Hildebrand. He was at once the most am-
ious, the most energetic, and the greatest master of ex-
nal as well as of internal politics. Previous to his
ne, the position of the church, although always regarded
th awe and respect, was in the very best case, one of
ual might and power with the influence of kings and
vereigns. It was the ambition of Gregory VII. to raise
d increase the power of the church, so as to be not the
ual, but the superior of all secular princes. This, the
ject of his life, he began to realize long before he was
ected to the papal dignity. Already under his imme-
ate predecessors, he was the main spring of the actions
anating from Rome. With great boldness he advised
e pope to regard the emperors of Germany, as well as
e kings of France, as his spiritual vassals, and instead
waiting for the confirmation and approval of the em-
ror, to ignore it totally. When Gregory ascended the
ıpal See, he carried his aggressive politics against the
erman Emperor, Henry IV., to an extreme, as we have
eady outlined.[1]

It is a difficult task to come to an impartial judgment
the merits or demerits of the Catholic church during
e middle ages. In modern times, the position and power
the Roman church is apparently far from equaling its
wer during the middle ages. But this statement must
taken with many allowances, for, at present as well as
former times, the Catholic church commands an almost
bounded influence; still, admitting its truth, this state-
ent ought not lead us into too harsh a judgment of the

[1] Above p. 372.

people of other centuries. Many, at present, think that the power of the church is deleterious to the general advance of mankind and that it ought to be curbed and controlled by the arm of secular power. During the middle ages the influence of the church was felt in almost every department of public and private life. It may well be,



Book Making in the Middle Ages.

then, that its influence, in some degree at least, was of undue dimensions: but on the other hand, we must not forget that strictly political and secular powers are also encroaching and aggressive. They, too, thrust themselves upon almost every department of private and domestic life. They deprive us of a considerable part of our

time, and exact very heavy tributes in the way of taxation.

Especially is this true of Europe where the bearing and influence of the state on pretty nearly every individual is more annoying and troublesome than the interference of the church in the middle ages. Thus nearly every European is subject to three years military service, and to all varieties of exactions as well as having to bear the burden of frequent and unreasonable taxes. Now intellectual and spiritual power, not being inferior to secular and political power, there really is very little reason to exaggerate the bad influence of the one and extol the good work of the other. Power, after all, is power, and interference remains interference, whether it comes from a pope or from a king. These considerations must give us pause when about to launch out in some denunciations against the church in the middle ages. The church numbered hundreds of thousands of members, and it is but a matter of course that in a corporation consisting of such a numerous membership, persons guilty of all kinds of misdemeanors, vices, and even crimes, creep in.

A heavy indictment has been drawn against the church in the matter of mental liberty and scientific advance. The case seems to be well made out, but it is well to see what can be said on the side of the accused. Under the name of scholasticism we generally comprise the philosophy and science of the middle ages. Many writers in our times delight in running down and decrying the efforts of medieval thinkers, but a closer study of their works generally ends with an admiration of the writers and an acknowledgment of their talent, industry, and perseverance. Several of them, like Duns Scotus Erigena, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas of Aquina, William of Champeaux, Occam, and others are justly distinguished, and a

deeper study of their works has disclosed to us many a mine of happy and rich thoughts. The works of St. Thomas of Aquina may be fairly considered the treasury of knowledge of those times, embracing, as they do, the whole circle of sciences cultivated in the middle ages.[1]



Street Showa in the Middle Ages.

All these thinkers were under the immediate influence of the church, even members of the same; but this did not prevent them from broaching the profoundest problems and giving expression to thoughts of lasting

[1] Compare the works of Stoecker on Scholasticism, and especially the suggestive work of Pouchet on the progress of natural science during the middle ages.

value. W must not forget, either, that the chur
joined on s veral of its orders the obligation c y
the ancient manuscripts of Roman and Greek i
and it is only by the industry and patience of t ı
val monks that we can still enjoy the produ
sical writers. All our knowledge of Greece
has been preserved by the monks, more ly by
Benedictines. In the field of history, t
from their dreary tomes considerable inform i
as to ancient Greece and Rome but of the l i
tutions of medieval times. But on the ot r l , tl
is a sad story to tell. We must rei m v
that similar results would attend the
any church, clothed with political power, ng
who had not yet attained a stage of gr int
vance. When Christianity came into pc r
stantine, there commenced that sad conflict
and religion which ended some centuries later,
church had become thoroughly established, by t
tion of science to bigotry and superstition. Thus
church which should have been the power to free men
minds from the oppressive weight of ignorance, but riv-
eted their fetters more strongly. It is extremely probable
that, had there been no organized church clothed with the
power to enforce its decrees, there would have been no
"dark ages," but given the foregoing the latter result fol-
lowed. The church was not the cause of the superstition
and ignorance of the dark ages, but the oppressive weight
of ecclesiastical power put an end for many dreary cen-
turies to further advance in knowledge.

In conclusion of our view of the middle ages, we shall devote some attention to the commercial activities of those times. From about the middle of the fourteenth

century, we find evidence of a continuous and rapid increase in wealth. Thus in 1363, Picard, who had been lord mayor some years before, entertained Edward III., the Black Prince, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, at his own house and



Attack on a Caravan.

presented them with handsome gifts. Philipot, another eminent citizen in Richard II.'s time, when the trading of England was considerably annoyed by privateers, hired one thousand armed men and dispatched them to sea, where they took fifteen Spanish vessels with their prizes. We find Richard obtaining a great deal from private

merchants and trading towns. In 1379, he got five thousand pounds sterling from London, a thousand marks from Bristol, and in proportion from smaller places. In 1386, London gave four thousand pounds sterling more and ten thousand marks in 1377. The latter sum was obtained also for the coronation of Henry VI. nor were the contributions of individuals contemptible, considering the high value of money. Hinde, a citizen of London, loaned Henry IV. two thousand pounds sterling, and Whittington, one half of that sum.[1]

A commercial intercourse between the northern and southern regions of Europe sprang up about the early part of the fourteenth century. The Italian merchants seldom undertook voyages perilous in themselves, but rendered more formidable by imaginary difficulties supposed to attend an expedition beyond the Straits of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were then called, before the magnet was discovered, its properties understood, and navigation raised to a science. The English, accustomed to their own rough seas, were always more intrepid and probably more skillful navigators, but it was extremely rare even in the fifteenth century for an English trading vessel to appear in the Mediterranean. Yet a famous military armament, destined for the crusade of Richard I., had displayed, at a very early time, the seamanship of the English. In the reign of Henry VI., England carried on a pretty extensive traffic with the countries around the Mediterranean, for whose commodities she exchanged her wool and cloth. The city republics of Venice and Amalfi kept up the commercial intercourse of Christendom with the Saracen countries before the first crusade. Scarcely known before the end of the sixth, Almalfi ran a brilliant

[1] Hallam: "View of the Middle Ages," chap. ix.

career as a free and trading republic until the middle of the twelfth century when the Normans reduced her by force of arms. But the decline of Amalfi was counterbalanced by the elevation of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice in in the twelfth and ensuing ages. These three Italian Republics enjoyed immunities in the Christian principalities of Syria, possessing separate quarters in many cities where they were governed by their own laws and magistrates.[1]

The introduction of a silk manufactory at Palermo, by Richard Guiscard in 1148, gave perhaps the earliest impulse to the industry of Italy. The Genoese, at about the same date, plundered two Moorish cities of Spain, from which they derived the same art. In the next age, this became a staple manufacture of the Lombard and Tuscan Republics, and the cultivation of mulberries was enforced by their laws. Woolen stuffs, though the trade was perhaps less conspicuous than that of Flanders, and though many of the coarser kinds were imported from thence, engaged a multitude of workmen in Italy and the south of France. Among the trading companies, into which the middle ranks were distributed, those concerned in silk and woolen manufacture were always numerous and honorable.[2]

It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the epoch when the polarity of the magnet became first known in Europe. The common opinion which ascribes its discovery to a citizen of Amalfi, in the fourteenth century, is undoubtedly erroneous. The French, as well as the Italians, claimed the discovery as their own, but whether it was due to either of these nations or rather learned from their

[1] Muratori, Dissertationes, xxx.
[2] Decandolle, "Domestic Plants," Silk.

intercourse with the Saracens is not easily to be ascertained. When the use of the magnet became more established, it naturally inspired a more fearless spirit of adventure. It was not, as has been mentioned, till the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the Genoese and other nations around that inland sea steered into the Atlantic Ocean toward England and Flanders. In spite



Street Scene in the Middle Ages.

of numerous obstacles, such as the general uncertainty of law and maritime piracy, the merchants of different countries became so opulent as to almost rival the ancient nobility. The trading companies possessed either a positive or a virtual monopoly, and held the keys of those eastern regions, for the luxuries of which the progressive

refinement of manners produced an increasing demand.

It is not easy to determine the average rate of profit, but we know that the interest of money was very high throughout the middle ages. At Verona in 1228, it was fixed by law at twelve and a half per cent; at Modina in 1270, it seems to have been as high as twenty per cent. The Republic of Genoa, towards the end of the



Carpenter Shop in Olden Times.

fourteenth century, when Italy had grown wealthy, paid only from seven to ten per cent to her creditors; but in France and England, the rate was more oppressive. An ordinance of Philip the Fair, in 1311, allowed twenty per cent after the first year of the loan. Under Henry III., the debtor paid ten per cent every two months, but this could not possibly have been the general practice. This was not merely owing to scarcity of money, but to the discouragement which a strange prejudice opposed to one

the most useful and legitimate branches of commerce. ury or lending money for profit was treated as a crime the theologians of the middle ages. Though this nion has been overthrown, traces of it still remain in legislation of some modern countries. This trade in ney, and indeed a great part of inland trade in general, l originally fallen to the Jews, who were noted for their ry as early as the sixth century.

The earliest bank of deposit, instituted for the accomdation of private merchants, is said to have been that Barcelona in 1401. The banks of Verona and Genoa re of a different description. Although the former of se two has the advantage of greater antiquity, having n formed in the twelfth century, yet its early history not so clear as that of Genoa, nor its political importance remarkable. During the wars of the fourteenth cen-y, Genoa had borrowed large sums of private citizens, whom the revenues of the city were pledged for repayent. As a security, at least for their interest, the subibers to the loans were permitted to receive the produce the taxes by their own collectors, paying the excess o the treasury. The number and distinct classes of se subscribers, becoming at last inconvenient, they re formed, about the year 1407, into a single corporan, called the "Bank of St. George," which was from t time, the sole national creditor and mortgagee. The ernment of this was entrusted to eight protectors. It n became almost independent of the state. Every mber, on his admission, swore to maintain the privileges the bank which were confirmed by the pope and even the empire. The bank interposed its advice in every asure of government and generally, as is admitted, to public advantage. It equipped armaments at its own

expense, one of which subdued the island of Corsica.[1]

The increasing wealth of Europe, whether derived from internal improvement or foreign commerce, displayed itself in more extensive consumption and greater refinements of domestic life; but these effects were, for a long time, very gradual. It is not till the latter part of the thirteenth century, that a more rapid impulse appears to have been given to society. A writer about the era thirteen hundred describes the manners of the Italians as follows: "In those times," he says, "the manners of the Italians were rude. A man and his wife ate off the same plate, there were no wooden-handled knives nor more than one or two drinking cups in the house. Candles of wax or tallow were unknown. A servant held a torch during the supper. The clothes of men were of leather unlined, scarcely any gold or silver was seen on their dress. The common people ate flesh but three times a week and kept their cold meat for supper. Many did not drink wine in summer. A small stock of rye seemed riches. The portions of women were small. Their dress even after marriage was simple. The pride of man was to be well provided with arms and horses. That of the nobility, to have lofty towers, of which all the cities of Italy were full. But now," he adds, "frugality has been changed for sumptuousness, everything exquisite is sought after in dress, gold, silver, pearls, silks, and rich furs. Foreign wines and rich meats are required, hence usury, rapine, tyranny, fraud, etc."[2]

No chapter of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture. The fashions of dress

[1] Hallam: "Middle Ages," ch. ix.

[2] Ricobaldi, quoted in Muratori: "Dissertationes, xxxvi."

and of amusements are generally capricious and irreducible to rule, but every change in the dwellings of mankind, from the rudest wooden cabin to the stately residence, was dictated by some principle of convenience, neatness, comfort, or magnificence. Both France and England do not appear to have made great progress in domestic architec-



Feudal Castle at Rouen.

ture during the middle ages. Except fortified castles, we do not find any considerable dwellings mentioned before the reign of Charles VII. of France. Occasionally a rich merchant possessed a magnificent house in Paris or in some of the neighboring cities. Even in Italy, where from the size of her cities and social refinements of her inhabitants, greater elegance and splendor in building were

justly to be expected, the domestic architecture of
middle ages did not attain any perfection.

In several towns, the houses were covered with thi
and suffered consequently from destructive fires. The
most essential improvements in architecture during
period, one of which had been missed by the sagacit
Greece and Rome, were chimneys and glass wind
Nothing, apparently, can be more simple than the for
yet the wisdom of ancient times had been content to
the smoke escape by an opening in the center of the r
About the middle of the fourteenth century, the us
chimneys is distinctly mentioned in England and It
but they are found in several of the English castles, wl
bear a much older date. Glass is said to have been
ployed in the domestic architecture of France before
fourteenth century, and its introduction into England
probably not earlier Nor indeed did it come into gen
use during the period of the middle ages. Glazed wind
were considered as movable furniture and probably
a high price. When the earls of Northumberlan
late as the reign of Elizabeth, left Alnwick Castle,
dows were taken out of their frames and carefully laic
But if the domestic buildings of the fifteenth century w
not seem very spacious or convenient at present, far
would this generation be content with their interna
commodations. A gentleman's house, containing thre
four beds, was extraordinarily well provided. Few p
ably had more than two. The walls were comm
bare. It is unnecessary to add that neither luxurie
books nor pictures could have found a place among fu
ture. Silver plate was very rare and hardly used
the table.

[1] Beckmann: "Geschichte der Erfindungen," III. p. 110.

Few things are capable of giving us a more distinct
a of the economical condition of a period of time than
e general market prices of things. In the reign of
nry III. and Edward I. in other words, before 1300,
e ordinary price of a quarter of wheat appears to have
en about four shillings, and that of barley and oats in
portion. A sheep at a shilling was considered high.[1]
a ox might be procured for ten or twelve. The value of
ttle is of course dependent upon their breed and condi-
n, and we have no early account of butcher's meat.
order to bring the prices of the thirteenth century to a
rel with those of the present day, we can hardly take a
s multiple than about thirty for animal food and
hteen or twenty for rye. Combining the two and set-
g the comparative dearness of cloth against the cheap-
ss of fuel and many other articles, we may perhaps
nsider any given sum under Henry III. and Edward I.
equivalent in general command over commodities to
out twenty-four or twenty-five times their nominal value
present. Accustomed to judge of feudal and chivalrous
es by works of fiction or by historians who embellish
eir writings with accounts of occasional festivals and
rnaments and are sometimes inattentive enough to
nsfer the manners of the seventeenth to the fourteenth
ntury, we are not at all aware of the usual simplicity
th which the gentry lived under Edward I. or even
nry VI. They drank little wine, although they gen-
lly made up for that in the way of drinking beer.
ey had no foreign luxuries; they rarely or never kept
le servants except for husbandry. Their horses as we
y guess by the price, were indifferent. They seldom
veled beyond their country and even their hospitality

[1] English Shilling.

must have been greatly limited if the value of estates was really no greater than we find it in many surveys. An income of ten or twenty pounds sterling was reckoned a competent estate for a gentleman. At least the lord of a single manor would seldom have enjoyed more. A knight, who possessed one hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum, passed for extremely rich, yet this was not equal in command over commodities to four thousand pounds sterling at present.

But this income was comparatively free from taxation; and in addition to the money, the lord had the disposal of quite an array of villeins. Sir John Fortescue speaks of five pounds a year as a fair living for a yeoman, a class of whom he is not at all inclined to diminish the importance. Still one class of laborers seem to have been better paid in the reigns of Edward III. or Henry VI. than at present. In the fourteenth century, a harvest man had four pence a day which enabled him in a week to buy a comb of wheat, but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now work six or eight days. So under Henry VI., if meat was at a farthing and a half a pound, a laborer, earning three pence a day or eighteen pence in a week, could buy a bushel of wheat at six shillings the quarter, and twenty-four pounds of meat for his family. A laborer, at present earning twelve shillings a week, can buy only half a bushel of wheat at eighty shillings the quarter and twelve pounds of meat at seven pence.[1]

It would be great historical injustice in treating of the institutions of the middle ages, to neglect the great and far-reaching influence of a people, who, by their intense interest in everything connected with civilization and by their intimate connection with medieval Europe, claim

[1] Nicholl's "Illustrations," and Hallam.

our attention, if not our gratitude. We mean the people following the Mohammedan creed and more especially the Arabians of the middle ages. Their vast empire founded on the valor and military system of Mohammed soon turned to a cultivation of science and philosophy, which did not fail to bear fruit and be of great consequence both to the country where it was produced and the countries of Europe to which it was carried by the zeal and thirst for knowledge of some Christian thinkers. The Arabians, with an energy and a genius but rarely equalled, devoted their attention to philosophical and scientific studies; and many of their caliphs, like Al Manzur and the still more celebrated Haroun-al-Raschid, were eager to attract to their courts the astronomers and mathematicians of the empire.

The Arabians, highly prized the great and useful literature of the Greeks, and did not hesitate to avail themselves of the works of Aristotle, Plato, and the later school of Alexandria. They translated the works of those Greek thinkers into the classical language of Arabia; and, more than this, they unceasingly endeavored and frequently succeeded, in reforming and improving on their teachers. The great names of Averroes and Avicenna are immortal luminaries in the history of philosophy. The mathematical works of Mohammed ben Mousa enriched the science of higher arithmetic with the solution of equations of the second degree. They were equally felicitous in their study of the human body, and Arabian physicians and doctors had a reputation all over the then known world. Frederick II., the enlightened and ingenious emperor of Germany, had them as his constant companions, delighting in the conversation of those learned men, who at that time combined both the classical knowl-

edge of Greece and the newly acquired treasures of fa and ideas, found and propounded by Arabian thinkers.

The bloom and blossom of Arabian civilization c tered in Spain; and it was to that land, where Arabians long held a beneficent sway over two-third the country, that many a zealous scholar of Europe paired in order to acquire information which, at that ti he could not procure elsewhere. Geber, or as he is be known, Pope Sylvester II., was an immediate schola the Arabians in Spain; and it was to their instruction he owed his remarkable skill in the theory and prac of mathematical science. Roger Bacon, the great wo and marvel of English science in the middle ages. a considerable part of his knowledge, his theor and inventions from a diligent study of the works of bian philosophers; and thus we may fairly state that Arabian civilization, if it did not exercise an influ similar to that of Greek or Roman civilization, was in not very inferior in its consequences, having roused spirit of self-reflection and a bolder investigation into problems of nature and of the human mind. Many of commonest words in our science still bear the sign Arabian influence; and some of the noblest sciences, as instance, algebra, retain the Arabian notation with alteration.

We must now draw to a conclusion this pictur life and times of the middle ages. Of necessity we c only touch on the main points, numberless points of m importance having to be passed over in silence. In last three chapters we have tried to outline the deve ment of Aryan culture forming a counterpart to the th closing chapters of Part I., treating of the political de opment. Taken together, we can now understand

Medieval World" in culture. It has simply to
rope, as the Ancient World had to do with
Nile Valley. And what completeness d it ve
view to regard Europe as the home id of t Ary
d the Aryans of Asia as simply emi io
far to the Orient as to loose their k.

And we hope it now becomes clear
bout great eras in culture, we must n
erent divisions than those ordinarily emplo
istorians. The medieval world in culture d
correspond to the medieval world in history. It
erence solely to the Aryans. Aryan culture
no backward movement. The culture of to-day
the development of medieval culture. We
watched the gradual unfolding of Europe, e
near to the dawning of modern times. Tl
thing in this ever widening sweep of Aryan cultur
we have traced from its source in Greece until it
braced all Europe, that ought to give room to
ing belief that the Aryan people will long contir
press on in the pursuit of knowledge. Loosing our v
in revery, we may dream of the time when Aryan language, religion, and culture shall embrace the whole world in its folds.[1]

[1] The three preceding chapters on ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages, covering, as they do, an immense field of investigation and the vast expanse of over two thousand five hundred years, did not admit of a more elaborate treatment of special points. Accordingly the author of these three essays considered it his main duty to direct the reader's attention to the leading features only, and to adduce the necessary arguments and illustrations in order to facilitate a clear and coherent insight into the real and specific character of Greek, Roman, and Medieval Civilization.

Such a succinct picture of the past times, however, while on the one hand, it necessitates a greater amount of reasoning and generalization, does, on the other hand, lessen the bulk of mere facts, with the exception

of those, the certainty of which has long been established, and continue to form the undisturbed common property of scholars. Many of the facts proffered in the preceding three essays, but more especially in the essay on Roman civilization, [such as those concerning the dress, the meals, the buildings, the races of the Romans] have been taken from standard reference books, like Pauly's Realencyclopaedie des Klassischen Alterthums; Saglio and Daremberg's [unfinished] Dictionnaire des Antiquites Romaines; Smith's Dictionary of Roman Antiquities, and others. It being the literary custom to use small portions [in distinction to whole articles] of these and similar useful compilations freely, the present general acknowledgment will suffice as an index of some of the sources used in the preparation of the said essays. The essential and leading ideas and conceptions of the preceding essays, however, and particularly those of the essays on Rome [e. g. the discussion of the city-state, the position of women, of house-sons, of slaves, the purport of Roman games, the causes of the unique greatness of Rome, etc.] have been evolved by an independent study of the original sources, [chiefly, Livy, Dionysius II., Cicero, Polybius) together with the best works of the moderns [mainly, Niebuhr, Schwegler, Mommsen, Lange, Sir. C. Lewis, etc.] It was, consequently, thought not feasible to crowd the pages with quotations, which, by the very nature of the subject, would have been far too minute and numerous for any other than a strictly professional work, the short space allotted to the subject being a final apology for the omission of direct quotations from the Roman historians.

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ELEUSINIAN FEAST.

CHAPTER IX.

ARYAN RELIGION.

Introduction—Mythology—Origin of [illegible]-Myths—The Myth of the Dawn—Ary[illegible]My[illegible]l[illegible]—[illegible]y Aryans of Asia—The Vedic Age—B[illegible]r[illegible]·[illegible]a—The Sankhya System—The Y[illegible]a[illegible]h—[illegible] Vedar Doctrine of Illusion—Iswara-[illegible]·[illegible], Origin [illegible]erature—Dualism—Ahura Mazda—T[illegible]A[illegible]s—ment of Mazdeism—Zrvan Al[illegible]—Pe[illegible]ty of G[illegible]opment—The Ionic School of Phil[illegible]phy—Plato—The "World of Ideas"—Com[illegible]n[illegible]h[illegible]World-Soul—Contact between Ary[illegible]Th[illegible]—Satan—Primitive Feast—Greek[illegible]yster-T[illegible]—Nationality of Buddha—Initiation into Brahman[illegible]—Or[illegible]izatic of his Order—The Laymen—Sayings of Buddha—Initiation into t Order—Political Development of Buddhism—Esoteric Buddhism—The "Tathagatha," The "Great Vehicle" Movement—Buddhaghosa—The Legendary Buddha—Spread of Buddhism—General Conclusions.



HAVE still before us a most important field of research, to which we must now turn our attention, this is the religious development of the Aryan people. Here as elsewhere Aryan genius is preceptible. It will be found in the sequel that two very important systems of Oriental religion date from Aryan foundation, one taking its rise in India and one in Persia. Tracing this influence to the West, we find two slightly diverging systems of philoso-

phy, one taking its rise in Greece finally culminating in the philosophy of Plato; and one, originating in the conflict between Aryan and Semitic thought—especially Judaism—ultimately giving rise to the various Gnostic sects, the relations between which and Christianity, it will be the object of a future chapter to unravel.

An immense field is here disclosed to view, each and every topic mentioned is deserving of a volume by itself. Hence it is evident that we can only give an outline of all. Still this will prove interesting, and will show, as nothing else will, certain peculiarities of Aryan thought. They were the first people to seriously grapple with, and attempt the solution of, certain great problems—such as the nature of the first cause, the origin of the soul, of matter, of evil—problems which still tax the ingenuity of theologians of our own times. So we will attempt to come to an understanding on this rather diffuse subject.

But let us observe well our surroundings. We have in another place gone over the ground of "Primitive Religion."[1] We need have no doubt that the various Aryan tribes of Europe went through at least the preliminary stages of this development before any extensive migration from their common home. History opens for each great section of the Aryan race when it was in the last stage of this growth, that of polytheistic Nature Worship. It is therefore necessary to gain a slight understanding of Aryan mythology, especially as we wish to show how primitive mythological conceptions continue to exert an influence long after the people have advanced to higher grades of culture.

Now mythology happens to be one of those topics, that have so recently been made the subject of scientific

[1] This Series, Vol. II. ch. v.

study, that they are still far from being settled fields. Probably, as is true of many another branch of science, at an early stage of its history, its enthusiastic expounders claimed for it more than it could perform, and appealed to its authority where it had no jurisdiction. On the other hand, some resist its plainest teachings and, refusing the assistance it proffers them, find themselves still involved in doubt, or stubbornly cling to conclusions which they should have been willing to abandon a long time ago. A reluctance to change established views may be as prolific of error as an overweening desire to embrace theories simply because they are new. If we would really understand this subject, some general remarks must be made.

Only of late years have explorers considered it worth their while to take into account the stories and tales of savage and but partially civilized people. Now that this subject has been noticed the following statements are found to be true. Nearly all tribes of men have collections of stories that profess to explain all natural phenomena, or are accounts of the doings of supernatural beings, or of beasts gifted with supernatural power. These stories pass on into barbaric life, in which stage they are mainly accounts of the actions of supernatural beings. Advancing intelligence either clothes these stories with a religious garb, making them accounts of the actions of their gods, or adopts the principal actors in them as their own natural heroes and the time of their occurrence as their golden age.

To the above statement, we must add, that these stages are not sharply defined, but are found variously commingled among the same people, at the same time; and, further, incidents of the original stories, lost sight of in gen-

eral, are continually re-appearing as survivals in the folk-lore of the people. Now, mythology proper, at least as ordinarily understood, concerns only the religious and heroic stage of these stories, where they are mainly the accounts of the doings of gods, goddesses, and supernatural beings. But for our purpose it is better to glance at the whole story field as just laid down.



Death of Hercules.

We must recall some points of savage philosophy. We have learned that, at a certain stage, savages come upon the conception that objects have souls, and that this conception extends in the stage of Fetichism to embrace all natural phenomena.[1] It is evident, that when people in this stage of development attempt to give any expla-

[1] This Series Vol. II. p. 310 *et seq.*

nation of what is going on about them, the explanation will be colored by such belief. To illustrate, what more natural than that rude people should see in water spouts great flying dragons and serpents.?[1] How else could such phenomena be described by savages, imbued with the savage theory just spoken of? So, quite naturally indeed, the sand pillars of the desert are explained to be the flight of demons.[2]

Now we want to dwell on this point, because here is a state of mind that will most unquestionably give rise to a great host of mythic stories. Everything, to primitive man, is endowed with individuality and life. Sun, moon, and stars, the winds, clouds, storms, rivers, are present to their minds as animate bodies, living much such a life as mortals do. It is manifest that such a stage of thought will give rise to a great number of mythic conceptions. We can further see how true it is that all people, in the progress of development must come to such a stage of thought. It is sure to arise, when once the savage idea of souls has gained ground. Everything that happens will inevitably be explained in terms denoting the action of living beings. Further still, primitive man will fall back on the same line of reasoning to explain some of the most common occurrences.[3]

Let us illustrate this. At times the rays of the sun shining through the clouds present the appearance of great ropes hanging down from the sun. Savages, believing the sun to be alive, seek to explain this appearance.

[1] Tyler: "Primitive Culture," Vol I. p. 264-5. [2] Ibid.

[3] A number of scholars seem to think that primitive man could not well distinguish between the living and the not living (Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 264) but this theory seems to rest upon a poor foundation. (See Spencer: "Principles of Sociology.") To our mind this mystic stage arises, like Fetichism, from the savage doctrine of souls. That conception has first to be formed. [*Vide* Vol. II. ch. v.]

Thus have arisen in different localities the myths of the sun catcher. The Polynesian tribes tell how Maui and his brothers, thinking that the sun went too fast, plaited ropes and formed a noose, and then journeyed to the East; "very far to the eastward, and came to the very edge of the place out of which the sun rises." Then they spread the noose and prepared to catch the sun. At length the sun rises. "He rises up, his head passes through the noose, and it takes in more and more of his body, until his fore paws pass through; then are pulled tight the ropes." Maui then rushed upon him, bearing in his hand an enchanted weapon. "Alas the sun screams aloud; he roars; Maui strikes him fiercely with many blows; they hold him for a long time; at last they let him go; and then weak from wounds the sun crept slowly along his course."[1]

Now this story is not based on any poetical metaphor. Savages are doing just what scientific men are doing to-day, explaining as best they can in accordance with their philosophy what they see around them. On island after island different versions of this myth occur, and some say that Maui wisely refused to take off the ropes, so that he might constantly hold the sun in check. The natives say that you can still see the ropes attached to the sun when he rises and sets. Civilized children exclaim "the sun is drawing water," in such instances the Polynesian islanders would say "behold the ropes of Maui."[2]

To show how true it is, that given the same phenomena to explain, men in the same stage of enlightenment will reason the same way, we need only point out that substantially similar myths existed among our Indian tribes.

[1] Grey: "Polynesian Mythology," London, 1885, p. 35-8.
[2] Tyler: Early History of Mankind," p. 352.

Sometimes as an accident, and sometimes on purpose, the sun is represented as caught in a snare, set by some wonderful hunter. In the American stories, however, the animals liberate the sun. In one story, the mole, burrowing underground, at length sets the sun free, his eyes are, however, put out by the intense light, and ever since moles have been blind.[1] It is quite in keeping with this old mythic idea that the Incas of Peru reasoned about the sun. "He is like a tethered beast who makes a daily round under the eye of a master."[2] And it is certainly interesting to observe that this conception lingers on in European folk-lore where the sun is spoken of as if it were tethered and delayed by bands.[3]

Thus mythic conceptions, such as here shown, arise quite naturally, and have a wide range both in space and time. It will be found that such conceptions underlie the ideas everywhere entertained by partially civilized tribes of eclipses. The sun and moon are considered as alive, but at times, from some mysterious cause, they seem to be disappearing with their light and warmth. What more natural than the explanation given of some monster seeking to devour them. The sun and moon are in never ceasing motion across the vaults of heaven, they are supposed to be in flight to avoid some monster—wolf, dog, or dragon—who seems to have overtaken his prey at the moment of eclipse, and would doubtless finish them, were he not scared away by the efforts made by the natives in their behalf.[4]

Many North American Indian tribes gave the dogs a sound whipping during the eclipses, because the "big

[1] Ibid. 351. [2] Brinton: "Myths of the New World," p. 55.
[3] Grimm: "Teutonic Mythology," Vol. II. p. 745. London, 1883.
[4] Ibid. 705.

dog" was swallowing the moon and the sun, and by whipping the little dogs he might be induced to desist.[1] So the tribes in South America thought the moon was hunted across the sky by huge dogs, who caught and tore her during an eclipse, and so to scare them away, the Indians would set up a great noise and shoot their arrows athwart the sky.[2] So of the Moors in Africa. "When the sun eclipse was at its highest, we saw the people running



Assembly of the Gods on Mt. Olympus.

about as if mad, and firing their rifles at the sun, to frighten the monster who, they supposed, was wishing to devour the orb of day . . . The women banged copper vessels together, making such a din that it was heard leagues away."[3]

[1] Brinton: "Myths," p. 137.
[2] Tyler: "Culture," Vol. I. p. 296.
[3] Grimm: "Teutonic Mythology," Vol. II. p. 707.

All the civilized nations show that they passed through the same belief. A Mongolian myth tells us of a demon who pursues both the sun and the moon, whenever he comes to hand-grips with one of them an eclipse occurs.[1] The Chinese still speak of the sun and moon as being "devoured" during an eclipse, and a great dragon is the monster doing the mischief. Nearly all of the population in Northern Asia have the same opinion. And everywhere with gongs and bells, rude music and prayers, it is to be driven away. The Finns in Europe have a similar belief. The Esthonians say the sun or moon is being "eaten," and until recently sought to hinder this process by conjuring spells.[2]

All Aryan nations passed through this stage of belief. "To this day, the Hindoos believe that a giant lays hold of the luminaries, and tries to swallow them."[3] "The Romans flung fire-brands into the air and blew trumpets and clanged brazen pots and pans." As late as the seventeenth century, people of Celtic descent were observed during an eclipse "to run about beating kettles and pans thinking their clamor and vexations available to the assistance of the higher orbs."[4] And not very long ago almanacs still represented eclipses by two dragons holding the sun and moon in their mouths.[5]

Now we have only just touched on the immense field of nature myths, we will, however, pass it by since, at present, all we wish to do is to make clear what we mean by the mythic stage of thought, and illustrate how naturally such stories might originate. As we have seen illustrated in the case of the sun-catcher, men everywhere are given to explain what they see around them. Certain

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Tyler, Op. cit. p. 301. [5] Grimm, l. c. note i.

from a very low stage of society on, man has been a theorizer. The primitive theories, however, are very crude. The point to be observed is, that these crude theories, explained in such terms that all understood them, very often indeed find embodiment in some story, and thus are kept alive as myths. We have now tried to make clear that a myth is in its origin an explanation. It is not an allegory, nor a poetical metaphor, but it is an effort on the part of primitive man to explain what he sees around him. They are the first theories of primitive science.[1] But we have been considering myths in their primitive stage. To explain their far reaching effects in the field of religion and history, we must reflect on the changes produced by time on the language in which they first find expression. For the original meaning of the words is lost sight of, partly because of changes constantly going forward in the language itself, and partly because advancing intelligence exposes the absurdity in the original explanation. So the real meaning in the old story is forgotten, all that remains is the shell.

We have now seen that myths are simply portions of the philosophy of the childhood age of mankind, often clothed in a new meaning, but not always. It is evident that all people who have achieved civilization have passed through such an age, and that barbarous people are even now in a mythical age. It is further evident that myths must embrace every department of science. We will have not only mythical religion but mythical philosophy and history as well. But the fact is, religious myths have had the most enduring life. We can all see the reason for this. Such myths would be handed down, while others would speedily be forgotten. Attempts would be

[1] On this point see Fisk: "Myths and Myth Makers," p. 21

nade to reconcile them with the beliefs and sciences of a iew generation. It is instructive to notice the philoso-)hers of the age of Socrates and Plato trying to explain Grecian mythology. We can furthermore see why it is, hat nature myths—myths of the earth, sky, sun, stars, ight, dawn, etc.—should be just the ones that would thus urvive when others had been forgotten.

Many illustrations of this statement could be given, ve will limit ourselves to but one, the Dawn. What is hat roseate glow which lightens up the eastern sky shortly efore the sun appears? The Australian tribes say that he sun is a woman. "Every night she descends among he dead, who stand in double lines to greet her and let ier pass. She has a lover among the dead, who has pre-ented her with a red kangaroo skin, and in this she ap-ears at her rising,"[1] Strange conception, truly, but quite n a par with our Aryan progenitors, with whom the lawn was a red cow;[2] and the sun was her calf.[3] From his singular story as a starting point, we follow the con-eption into the poetry of the Vedas where Ushas (the)awn) "opens the darkness as a cow her stall;" she is hen represented as "full of wisdom, rich in everything;" n short, she is the author of all the good that day-light rings.[4] From this we understand the wonderful impor-ance of cows in all the religious observances of the Hin-oos,[5] and the Parsees, and let us not forget the great effi-acy of the ashes of a *red* heifer among the Israelites.[6]

Let us constantly keep the foregoing in mind. Inci-ents of mythic story so altered that we can perhaps

[1] Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. II. p. 129.

[2] "Zoological Mythology," Vol. I. p. 50. [3] Ibid. 51.

[4] Keary: "Outline of Primitive Belief," p. 146-7.

[5] *Vide* Williams: "Modern Hindooism." [6] Num. xix.

scarcely detect them are floating around the world, always ready to attach themselves to the names and memories of national heroes. The history of great kings, such as Cyrus the great and Charlemagne, is encrusted with mythical incidents;[1] and especially around the memories of great reformers and founders of new religions, such as Gautama and Zoroaster, will such mythic stories gather. Now let us attempt to learn more particularly of Aryan mythology. We have seen that as a people enter on the stage of Polytheism, the heavens and the earth, as two of the greater fetiches, take rank as two of the more powerful gods of the new pantheon. Powers are ascribed to them and hymns in their favor are sung. The Polynesian Islanders called the over-arching heaven Rangi, and supposed he was the father of all life. A most interesting story is told of the separation of Rangi and Papa, the earth.[2] Among these Islanders the myth was yet in the first stage. The meaning of the words was very plain to all.

It is hard for primitive man to form nouns with general significance. It is easier for them to give names for different aspects of the sky, such as Night sky, Day sky, Noon sky, than it is to form a general conception of Sky. Hence it is that among rude people, such as the primitive Aryans, we meet with the names of several important deities, each of which traces itself back to some aspect of the sky; each had developed from the fetich worship of the first stage. Thus among the Teutonic tribes, we meet with *Zio*, which seems to have been the day sky. As we pass away from Germany, we continually meet with this ancient divinity under new names. Among

[1] Fisk: "Myths and Myth Makers," p. 114 note and p. 199.
[2] Grey: "Polynesian Mythology."

the Greeks, [illegible] ;
***Jupiter*; among the Slav** [illegible] ;
Indians, with *Dyaus*.[1]

Now let us observe the steps by wh [illegible]
has emerged into the polytheistic god. T [illegible]



Diana.

given a personal name. This was not a metaphor, nor a poetical fancy, for all nouns are personal. Time passes

[1] *Vide* Darmesteter: "Contemporary Review." **As to traces of fetich worship among the Aryans consult Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 53.**

on and the Aryans commence their victorious migrations. Language and philosophy both change. The scattered people forget the original meaning of the name of their god. He becomes simply a mythical figure. Many little incidents that were natural and true of the day sky are still told of the god, but now there is no reason in their application. They pass on into meaningless stories.



Apollo.

But the various Aryan people, as they continue on their way from the homeland, enter on new conditions of life and surroundings, or from the workings of many other causes, other personifications became more prominent than the day sky, though this is not true of all the Aryans. Among the Indians, Varuna, the night sky, usurped the supremacy, only to be in turn vanquished by Indra, the god of storms. In Germany, Odhinn, originally the god of the stormy atmosphere, became in course of time, the great god of all Teutonic people.[1] Now it is not necessary for our present purpose to give a detailed

[1] Cox: "Mythology of the Aryan Nations."

account of Aryan mythology. It is sufficient to remark that, approximately in the manner here pointed out, all Aryan people, when history first dawns upon them, were in the possession of a rich and varied mythology. The explanations and child-like theories of the primitive Aryans, retained by the conservatism so natural to all religions, now found a place in the songs, descriptive of their gods, and the meaningless, absurd, or immoral stories told of the loves, lives, and adventures of their gods and goddesses.

Leaving the other branches of the Aryans, we will turn our attention to the Aryans of Asia, who are of especial interest to us in our present inquiry. We have before pointed out that the Aryans of Asia, as far as our present inquiry is concerned, consist of two closely related people; the Iranians and the Indians. But at the time to which we now direct our inquiry, these two branches had not yet made their appearance. The people were, as yet, united. This was the Vedic age of the Aryans. We have already had occasion to refer to this expression, and have perhaps said all that is necessary on the various divisions of this mass of literature.[1]

Now a vast amount of study has of late years been devoted to this mass of literature, in order to gain therefrom a knowledge of the religious conceptions of the Asiatic Aryans when we first gain an historical knowledge of them. Let us pause to note a singular idea prevalent

[1] For further information on the Vedas consult Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. I. ch. vii. Williams: "Religious Thought in India," ch. i. Kaegi: "Rig Veda," p. 4 *et seq.* An excellent description is contained in Colebrook's "Essays," ch. i. Barth: "Religions of India," ch. i. The following volumes of the "Sacred Books of the East" are, of course, all important: Vols. I., II., VIII., XII. and XV. The introductory parts in all of these volumes give us light on this question. See also above p. 154.

among some authors. It has been supposed that the knowledge thus obtained would be that of the *primitive* religious state of the Aryans, and considerable has been said about the childlike simplicity and innocence of the same. Thus says Geiger: "We have in these hymns the picture of an original, primitive life of mankind."[1] To this, Kaegi adds that these hymns present us "religious conceptions from the earliest beginnings."[2] Similar expressions could be quoted from such men as Whitney and Max Muller.[3]

Yet a moment's consideration will show us that this is the wrong view. Instead of being a primitive stage of thought, it is really a most advanced stage. Many centuries had doubtless passed away since the Aryan migrations began. They must have slowly passed through the various stages of ancestor and fetich worship and were in an advanced stage of polytheistic nature worship. Plain traces of these stages exist. Neither was the state of society "primitive." The family was fully organized.[4] "The ranks of society were as clearly defined as in Homeric Greece."[5] Kings are frequently mentioned, poets and priests abound. The people were settled in villages, various trades were practiced; in short, society may be said to have arrived at the very verge of civilization.[6] The very language in which the songs were written was already old and decrepid, long past the bloom of youth.[7]

All this shows us how greatly we err when we regard the religion of the Vedic period as a primitive religion. Let us bear in mind the following eminently just observa-

1 Kaegi: "Rig Veda," p. 26. 2 Ibid.
3 Lange: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 119.
4 Kaegi: "Rig-Veda," p. 14. 5 Lang, Op. cit. p. 220.
6 Ibid. 223.
7 Sayce: "Science of Language," Vol. II. p. 138 *et seq.*

n of Lang. "In the Vedas, we have the views of the *Rishis* only, that is, of sacred poets on their way to becom- **g a sacred caste. Necessarily, they no more represent e popular creeds than the psalmists and prophets, with eir lofty monotheistic morality, represent the popular eeds of Israel."[1] But in reality the Vedas do show us e of the most interesting stages of religious develop- ent.**

Advancing intelligence of the people in general had w begun to perceive, in a dim way, the weakness of their pular creed. They were feeling about for something to ke its place. In such a stage of thought, the more intel- ctual class of people—the poets and priests—would take eat liberties with the old mythology. The older myths d legends were in part explained away; here omitted together, and there softened down. Such crude concep- ns of the Dawn as a red cow were replaced by long ems on the goodness, wisdom, and beauty of Ushas (the awn). In short, the many hued mantle of poetry was ng over the ancient mythology, concealing here and re its crudeness, and throwing an altogether different ht on what remained.

As we stated, in the first or Vedic stage, the Aryans India are not supposed to have separated into the two at streams of the Asiatic Aryans; the Iranians and Indians. But this separation soon began to take ce. One stream of the advancing Aryans set towards West, and one debouched on the plains of Upper lia. Tracing the fortunes of this eastern branch, we l them coming in contact with members of the Yellow e—the Dravidians. The effect, on the development religion, was two-fold. We have already traced this

[1] "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. II. p. 123.

influence in the development of the religious caste.[1] The Brahmans now became the body of people who are concerned with religion. The mass of the people were now released from all care in such matters. They had only to follow the directions of the Brahmans.

We need only reflect that the great mass of people change their religious opinions only with extreme slowness.



Primitive Worship among the Germans

In the case of the Indians, the Brahmans had simply to formulate the slowly crystallizing beliefs of the popular creed, which though little affected by the Vedic movement, had finally begun to advance out of the simply primitive stage of belief.[2] This creed and belief is known to us as Brahmanism, and is perhaps the first attempt at a philo-

[1] Above p. 165.

[2] This Series Vol. II. ch. iv.

phical system of religion of which anything is known, ough it is extremely crude, and overlaid with all sorts myths of the older period.[1] The Brahman caste was ıdoubtedly considerably influenced by the beliefs of the ıranian Dravidians, and incorporated, to some extent, ıeir myths with their own.[2]

Let us consider a little farther this priestly caste of ıe Brahmans. Such a body of men was largely released om the material cares of life. They formed the learned ody of the people, and would undoubtedly ponder over ıe various problems of philosophy and religion. But ıe conclusions they might come to among themselves, ould not necessarily be communicated to the people at rge, simply because they were by no means fitted to re- ive them. Here then we find ground for the division of ligious doctrines into *exoteric* and *esoteric* doctrines. The rmer being the doctrines publicly taught and expounded; ıe latter, the secret beliefs of the priestly and learned ass. We need only remark, that while in the earlier ges of the world, the distinction between these two classes f knowledge was very great,[3] yet the tendency has constantly been for this distinction to disappear; this because ıe mass of the people have steadily become more and

1 We use the word "Philosophical" as opposed to the mere development of mythology. An exception may come in, in the case of Egypt, ut in examining Egyptian religion we failed to find much philosophy, ut did observe a great deal of mythology. The Persian system of religon may be, and probably is, equally as old. We need simply remark ı this place that no Semitic system of religion was based on philosophy. et no one take offense at this statement, for religion is not a matter of hilosophy but of faith.

2 Will not this explain Barth's statements of a trace of some sort of onnection between Babylon and India? "Religions of India," p. xviii) s well as Bunsen's rather labored hypothesis in "Angel Messiah." See lso "Bible Folk-Lore," London, 1884, p. 4, for further particulars on this oint.

3 Every system of ancient philosophy was more or less esoteric or ecret, known in its fullness only to the initiated.

more enlightened. Still it has never entirely disappeared, and even to this day, how frequently is the remark made in reference to some particular article of belief, that, however true it may be, the world is not yet ready for it.

Now we think it will be brought out in the sequel that the esoteric knowledge of the ancient Brahmans, slowly spreading to the west, exerted a tremendous influence on the development of religious philosophy, an influence which is felt to-day in every part of the civilized world. But for the present let us return to the consideration of Brahmanism. In accordance with what we have but just pointed out, Brahmanism itself must be studied under two heads; Ritual and Philosophy. Fortunately the ritual, or public worship of Brahmanism, need not detain us long. In Brahmanism, all worship may be summed up in one word, *Sacrifice*.[1]

Here we see an extraordinary development of one set of ideas properly belonging to primitive religion. Sacrifice begins with offerings of food to the other-selves of dead kinsmen and friends.[2] When ancestor worship has become well developed its observation of course becomes of more importance. Now, sacrifices are offered for the purpose of propitiating the household gods. The general course of development, as morality more and more attaches itself to religion,[3] is, first, for the idea to arise that the object offered in sacrifice must be something valued by the giver, something requiring *self*-sacrifice on his part.[4] Only in a developed stage does the idea arise that to obtain the

[1] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 19, London, 1882. Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 24.

[2] Tyler: "Primitive Culture," Vol II. p. 340. This Series, Vol. II. p. 742. Spencer: "Sociology,"

[3] This Series, Vol. II. p. 288.

[4] Tyler, l. c. p. 359.

wished for good, the moral duties must be cultivated as well as sacrificial offerings made.

In Brahmanism the development was still in almost the first stage.[1] There were united to this, however, several conceptions belonging to a very low scale of culture, ideas that can be traced directly to savage philosophy. That is the magical efficacy of sacrifice. If sacrifices be only accompanied by the right ceremonies; if the appropriate prayers and ceremonies be offered by the appropriate person, they are all powerful. Everything that happens is to be explained as the result of some ceremonial arrangement.[2] Already in the Vedas we see the beginning of this state of mind.[3] Of course, we can see that, when the Brahman caste with its peculiar rights had developed itself, they would foster this tendency. They only, know how to perform the sacrifice, so as to compel the wished for good. Save in this enormous extension of sacrifice there was not much change in the standing of the older Vedic gods.[4]

Let us now turn to a more interesting part of our subject, Philosophical Brahmanism. Now the Brahman priesthood cared little for what we might call Dogmatic Theology.[5] In questions of rites and ceremonies, they claimed to be the sole authorities. But the most diverse opinions were allowed provided they professed to rest on the Vedas. Furthermore, when it came to the matters of speculation, the Brahman class did not always contain in its ranks the keenest thinkers. Members of the Kshatyra caste often led them in this matter.[6]

[1] Barth: "Religions of India," p. 49. Above p. 117.

[2] Barth, Op cit p 48; Williams: "Religious Thought," p 23.

[3] Lang: "Myth, Ritual and Religion," Vol. I. p. 224. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 19.

[4] Barth, Op. cit. p. 41.

[5] Barth, Op. cit p. 46.

[6] Barth, Op. cit. p. 65. Above p. 171.

It seems to us, at present at least, impossible to trace the steps by which the Hindoos emerged from mythology into philosophy.[1] We have seen that even in primitive religion, the conception arises of one supreme God back of all the rest.[2] In the Vedic hymns this feeling often finds expression,[3] but then the people had not settled down on any one god as the supreme God. Or rather the people were in that stage of thought when any of the gods to whom sacrifice is directed becomes, for the time being, the Supreme One.[4]

But a time finally came when these "meditative Aryans", taking these old hymns as their stand-point, attempted to build up philosophical systems, they were thus employed perhaps as early as ten centuries B. C.,[5] and their theories found expression in the Upanishads or the theological portion of the Vedas.[6] It is a difficult task to extract from these Upanishads the various systems of Philosophy,[7] but we may with profit refer to the more prominent ones. The study will convince us that whether the investigator

[1] There are those who will deny that philosophy proper belongs to any of the Hindoo systems (See Schwegler: "History of Philosophy," and Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 26,) since the whole object of their research was to free the soul from the necessity of rebirth. This is certainly a very fine point to raise. Whatever *object* the Hindoos had in view, they did certainly enunciate various theories as to the universe, the soul, and the nature of deity, which they sought to support by a train of reasoning. This, however childish the theories may be, is a *system of philosophy*. The object of the Greek philosophy, we are told, was to disengage the soul from all animal passions, that it may rise above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence. [Colebrook's "Essays," p. 155.] This, as contrasted with the Hindoo object, is largely a "distinction without a difference."

[2] This Series Vol. II. p. 346.

[3] Rig-Veda, x. 120 127., Muller's translation, are examples of this feeling.

[4] Barth, Op. cit. p. 29. This is the stage of thought denominated by Max Muller, "Henotheism." "Origin and Growth of Religion," p. 280.

[5] Barth op. cit. p. 67. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 18. Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 20; but this same author in "Indian Wisdom," assumes 500 B. C.

[6] Above p. 160.

[7] Cf. Barth, p. 61.

be a Hindoo, European, or American, if prepared for his work, he comes to conclusions substantially the same. This we would indeed expect to be the result since men everywhere are confronted by the same problems and have only the same elements whereby to effect their solution.



Mara.

As we have seen, the older mythology taught that the over-arching heaven and the fruitful earth were the prolific father and mother of all things, consequently also of man. As man advanced in intelligence, it seems to have been assumed that his body was indeed of the earth, earthly, but that his spiritual part was of heavenly descent.

The problems presenting themselves for solution were the nature of the relation between these two parts, the nature and destiny of the spiritual part, and how to free it from its entanglement with matter.[1] Incidentally attaching to these there were other problems pressing forward for a solution: one of which speedily became of very great importance, that was the Origin of Evil. It was comparatively easy to account for good, but whence came evil ?[2]

The slowly developing philosophy of the Brahmans began to cast itself into formal systems, one of the first was the Sankhya system. The meaning of this word is the exercise of reason or judgment.[3] As expanded by the ancient commentators, it signifies "the discovery of the soul by means of right discrimination".[4] Not a bad title for a system of philosophy. The reputed founder of the school was Capila, but around this personage, if such an one existed, have gathered innumerable myths[5] and he is generally considered as of divine origin.[6] The idea underlying this philosophy is, that true and perfect knowledge will free men from all evil. Then follows a dissertation on the means of attaining knowledge, such as comparison, inference, tradition, etc. On this part we need not linger. The most important statements of their philosophy then follow.

[1] Every religion known to the world, that reaches a philosophical stage, on its esoteric side at least, has had to grapple with and attempt a solution of these problems. On their exoteric side, however, they are either passed by, rites and ceremonies forming the whole of religion, or some formulated article of belief, drawn from sources considered by the followers of the religion in question as inspired, solve all doubts and answer all inquiries. Perhaps this is the better way, since the field of religion is not science but faith.

[2] Dean Mansell makes the two great problems of heathen philosophy to be "the problem of absolute existence, and the problem of the Origin of Evil." ("Gnostic Heresies" p. 11)

[3] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 144.

[4] Ibid. Cf. William's definition of synthetic enumeration. "Indian Wisdom," p. 91.

[5] Above p. 718.

[6] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 145. Williams; Indian Wisdom," p. 89, note 1.

It is in general very difficult to set forth the details of philosophical system in a way at all interesting. It is, however, so necessary for a further understanding of our subject, that we must make an attempt to understand these old thinkers. As for the world of matter, they said it was eternal, and was the producer of all things. They figured it as an eternal, productive germ, and designated it by a feminine noun, *Prakriti*, the mother of all things, quite in keeping with the old mythology. But this germ, though one, indivisible, and all that sort of thing, is a trinity, a union of three qualities, each equal to the other, a perfect equipoise existing between them. These are the three Gunas, or cords, which bind the soul. The first comprising all of good, the second of evil, the third of indifference.[1]

This philosophy also declares that the spiritual part of man is eternal; not only that it will be eternal in the future, but has been in the past. This principle is designated by a masculine noun *Purusha*. But though there is only one productive germ, spirits are innumerable, each separate and independent from the others, and each has existed from all eternity. Whether this system originally admitted the existence of one supreme soul, one superior to all the others, is doubtful.[2] But certainly from the very earliest times some philosophers of this school taught the existence of such a supreme soul, *Iswara*, the ruler of the world.[3] But this supreme ruler is so far removed from other souls that he takes no interest in them.

[1] The Gunas are:

1 Sattva, equivalent to purity, goodness, etc.
2 Rajas, " passion, activity, etc.
3 Tamas, " darkness, indifference, etc.

Vide Williams: "Religious Thought" p. 21; Colebrook's "Essays," p. 157.

[2] The majority of authorities seem to favor the negative view; Barth: "Religion of India," p. 70; Williams: "Religious Thought," p. 88.

[3] Colebrook's "Essays," p. 154; "Indian Wisdom," p. 46. This is

The relation between these two eternal principles they consider to be as follows. The female principle, Prakriti, desires union with the male principle, Purusha. No creation takes place unless such union occurs. Here comes in the fatal entanglement of the soul with matter. The part played by the soul is simply that of a passive onlooker, still it is finally ensnared by the wiles of Prakriti. He joins himself with her and a phenomenal world and an intelligent being is produced.[1] But in this act of creation the perfect equipoise of the three qualities—goodness, evil, indifference—in Prakriti is disturbed. The soul is bound to matter more strongly by one cord than another. Hence we have all classes of beings; good, bad, and indifferent.[2]

Now, in order to keep clearly in mind the main points, that is how this system answered the problems outlined above,[3] we will pass by some points in the system, and hurry on to the final question, how was the soul to be set free from its entanglements with matter? Death would not do it, for death was simply the destruction of one gross, material body and there were several other bodies intervening between that and the soul.[4] Besides, until the soul was fully informed in this matter, it must transmigrate from body to body, in each life enjoying the rewards, or suffering the penalties for deeds done in a former body. But when the great principles of this philosophy are truly

the theory of the Yoga branch of the Sankhya philosophy; cf. Colebrook's remarks, p. 159.

[1] Notice the singular conclusion, there are as many phenomenal worlds and creations as there are individual beings, consequently the phenomenal world is not a real one.

[2] Let us understand that not all of these intelligent beings are human beings; some, as gods and demons, are superior to man; and some, as quadrupeds, are inferior. Colebrook's "Essays," p. 157.

[3] Page 730. [4] Colebrook, p. 155.


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perceived, then will the imprisoned soul learn that it is radically distinct from matter. "Possessed of this self-knowledge, soul contemplates at ease nature, thereby debarred from prolific change."[1]

Now, before passing on to other topics, let us reflect for a moment on this system. It taught dualism;[2] the eternity of matter and spirit; all the evil of life arose from the soul yielding to the enticement of matter; the way of escape was the attainment of true knowledge by which the soul might perceive the errors of his ways, so to speak. We must notice also, the prevalence of old mythological ideas side by side with ideas advanced for that age. Quite in keeping with the old mythology, and with all the phenomena they saw around them, they accounted for all that existed by the union of a male and a female principle.[3] A slight change of name will however show that after all this system is not foolish. Suppose that instead of Prakriti and Purusha, we talk about matter and force, we are at once on grounds familiar to modern materialists.

We must also speak of one sect of the Sankhya philosophers, the *Yoga* branch. The founder of this branch distinctly affirmed the existence of a supreme soul; Capila, the founder of the Sankhya systems being, to say the least, silent on that point. From such a belief, however, other results followed. Now the object sought, was not simply to free the soul from entanglement with matter, but further to attain union with Iswara, the supreme. To

[1] Ibid. 164.

[2] We would naturally expect dualism to precede monotheism. However Barth remarks that in the first instance this system was not dualistic; "Religions of India," p. 70.

[3] Almost all, if not all, religions seem to have passed this stage of belief. (*Vide* Inman: "Ancient Faiths;" Westropp and Wake: "Ancient Symbol Worship.") To this day in all parts of India temples are dedicated to the male and female principles.

further this end, minute rules of conduct were laid down, following which it was claimed that such union could be obtained even in this life. This union bestowed on the practitioner certain very great powers, such as clarvoyance, clairaudience, levitation of the body; or the soul was thought able even to leave the body and travel abroad and, at its will, return to its bodily domicile.

The belief that such powers are attainable to man is not confined to this sect, but is very prevalent in India. In older times it amounted to a belief in magic and sorcery. A well informed writer at the present day will certainly be chary about expressing an opinion. The remarks made on a former page[1] in regard to Shamanism apply with intensified force here. Many years are spent in the severest training, with one object in view: the development of psychic force. The apparently well vouched for results sometimes obtained are beyond any explanation we can give at present.[2] The fact is the modern world has been carried away in the pursuit of practical science. Only just within the last few years has it consented to investigate the unknown power of the human mind. But brief and as superficial as has been the examination, we begin to see that a new world of knowledge is awaiting exploration. Many years must yet pass by before a just verdict can be rendered in this instance.[3]

Perhaps it is not necessary for us to discuss at length another system of Hindoo dualistic philosophy analogous to the Sankhya system.[4] We will therefore turn at once to

[1] Vol. II. p. 329.

[2] *Vide* "Indian Wisdom," p. 106.

[3] We would advise the reader to examine the reports of the various Psychical societies, and he will speedily see how very limited is our knowledge on this subject, and realize the truth of Hamlet's remark. "Hamlet," Act I. Scene 5.

[4] This is the *Nyaya* and its modification *Vaiseshica* (*Vide* Cole-

most important school of Indian philosophy—the Ve-
ta. This school apparently started from as crude con-
tions as the former:[1] the position they finally attained
passed them. According to this school, there is but
eternal essence—pure spirit.
is was called sometimes *At-*
r (spirit), or *Param-atman*
preme spirit), or Brahma.[2]
ıs to the spiritual part of man,
ı individual spirit (*Jiv-At-*
r) was a part of, or identical
ı, the supreme Atman, just
sparks are thrown out by a
ıace fire. But not only was
spiritual part of man derived
ı the supreme spirit, but the
erial part, as well as the
erial universe, was derived
ı the same source. The At-
ı, in short, was the universe.[3]
ian writers made many at-
pts to explain their under-
ding of this statement. "He is," say they, "the ethe-



Juno.

's "Essays," ch. vii. These systems taught with singular fullness
Atomical Theory." Their analysis would prove a surprise to those
imagine that all philosophy originated with the Greeks. We here
a fore statement of much of Greek philosophy. The doctrine of
urus as regards "atoms," the Aristotelian "categories," and the
s of the Platonic school as regards "substance" are here stated.
d some of the ideas of these philosophers will bear comparison
the theories of modern chemists and physicists. [*Vide*, "Indian
om."]

[1] Barth: "Religions of India," p. 72.

[2] The word Brahma [final a short] is neuter and must not be con-
led Brahma [final a long] masculine, the active or creative form
wara.

[3] Oldenberg thinks that the older texts imply that a chaotic some-
exists independent of the Atman: "Buddha," p. 40.

rial element from which all things proceed, and to which all return." "He is the light which shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, everywhere throughout the world, and within the human person." "He is the intelligent self, immortal, undecaying, and happy."[1] Speaking of the external world, they say he is both creator and creation, actor and act.[2]

Such was the Vedanta philosophy in its first stage. It was pure pantheism. Instead of two eternal essences, as in the Sankhya system, it admitted but one, spirit, which was regarded as both the material and efficient cause of all that exists. But time passed on and other problems pressed forward; new ideas were engrafted on the older system, and we have a philosophy not so strikingly different from the Sankhya. These new ideas seem to have arisen from an attempt to answer the remaining problem, what is the relation between the two parts of man? What is the bond which holds them together? Admitting that the material world was likewise derived from Brahma, what sort of a world was it? In answer to these queries we have the doctrine of *illusion*, such a favorite theory among later Indian scholars, but which is not found in the older Upanishads.[3]

It is extremely difficult to come at the reasonings underlying the language of the Hindoo writers on this subject. Looking around them, they of course perceived all sorts of material objects; but the very keynote of their faith was that all was Brahma. Why was not such a truth apparent at once? It must be because their intellectual power was not sufficient to penetrate the disguise. In other

[1] Colebrook's "Essay," p. 217.

[2] Jacobs: "Hindoo Pantheon," for a good analysis of Brahma.

[3] On this point see Colebrook's "Essays," p. 242. Barth, Op. cit. p. 75

words, it was owing to the power of *A-vidya*,[1] that is ignorance. The appearance of things must be merely illusory. The phenomenal world, all that we see around us, can have no more real existence, than the things we see in a dream. But how did this phenomenal world get started? Of course it all comes from the supreme spirit, but how from pure spirit can come the impure, illusory matter? In answer to this question, Hindoo theologians took refuge in an explanation which we shall meet with again and again in Oriental theology. The supreme god was considered as too elevated a character to concern himself in creation. He therefore by the power of illusion, created *Iswara*, the ruler of the world. But, notice, Iswara, is himself a trinity; for he is dominated by the three gunas, of which we made mention some pages back.[2]

It is Iswara that creates all things; but he and all his creations are illusions. Each human soul believes itself living an individual existence. This is simply illusion. This belief, however, is the bond, connecting spirit and matter. As long as such belief is held, so long will the soul be subject to the power of illusion, and be prevented from his final union with Brahma. He must learn the great truth that the Atman is all; that he himself is the Atman: he must come by deep meditation to believe that "I am (all) existence."

Here for the present we will leave the Aryans of India. All have doubtless noticed one point. In primitive religion we had to observe that morality was not con-

[1] Indian Wisdom, p. [illegible].

[2] See above, p. [illegible].

[3] The most fortunate of very great importance in the modern religions of

nected with religion at first. So when philosophy began, not much attention was paid to morality. The way of escape from evil was not by exercising morality, but in the acquisition of correct knowledge. Not action but belief was what was wanted. It is true that many painful ascetic rites are deemed efficacious, but only because they are an aid to the acquisition of knowledge. For the time being we will leave the eastern branch of the Aryans and turn to the consideration of the western or Iranian branch.[1]

At what time in the distant past, Aryan tribes commenced to spread over the plains of Iran, we can not, perhaps, decide with certainty. We are probably safe should we say that as early as 2000 B. C. the movement destined to Aryanize the country bordering on the kingdom of Assyria had begun. Fifteen centuries went by, with only occasional scattered historical references of this movement; then the veil is suddenly withdrawn, and we find the whole country stretching away to the east from the Tigris river in the possession of Aryan tribes more or less pure in ethnology.

The westward-wandering Aryan tribes, who in that primitive long-ago defiled through the dreary passes of the Hindoo Koosh mountains and began the long but grad-

the Orient. Its meaning is involved in the mystic A-U-M of India. It is the "Nuk pu Nuk," engraved in the roll of the dead and put in the Egyptian tombs. This same formula is also signified by the three letters i-a-o of Semitic belief, which co-alesce into Iao, the mythic name of God among them. Indeed this is expressly said to be the meaning of the ineffable name of God among the Hebrews [Exodus ii. 14.] Consult Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 454 *et seq.* Stanly: "Future Religion of the World," p. 260 note 2, p. 304.

[1] From the necessities of the case we have had to be as brief as possible in presenting the two principal philosophical creeds of India. In addition to the authorities here quoted we would especially refer to "Hindoo Philosophy," by Ram Chandra Bose.

ually spreading conquest of Iran, carried with then the mythology and superstition that was an heritage from the pre-Vedic age; perhaps, even, the songs of the Veda were sung by their priests. But as the centuries went by a great change was effected. A system of religion gradually grew up which attracted considerable attention in the ancient world, and undoubtedly exerted a great influence on the development of the religious thoughts and beliefs of the civilized world of to-day. Let us then try to acquire clear ideas about this system.



Minerva.

It has received various names, but of late years the name of *Mazdaism* has been most commonly applied to it [1] As preliminary let us observe the two principal elements, the uniting of which formed the religion in question. The first is the beliefs brought by the first Aryan invaders

[1] Their names are Dualism, Zoroastrianism, and Fire-Worship. Darmesteter: "Zend-Avesta," Vol. I. p. 1.

from the Asiatic center of Aryan dispersion. That they brought with them the mythology and songs of the Aryans of the early Vedic age is now not doubted. The name of their supreme god was derived from the Vedic title of *Asura Mazdha* "lord of high knowledge," the name of one of the spiritual attributes of Varuna,[1] and in many other cases we could show equally plain traces of this original union.[2] It was formerly supposed that this western movement of the Iranians was in the nature of a schism.[3] But this is probably the reverse of the truth, the religions became changed because the people separated.[4]

With the mythology and culture of the early Vedic age, then, the invading tribes entered Iran. They of course found the country fully inhabited and many centuries of slow fusion went by before the new religion was fully developed. All this time they were subject to the influence of the mythology and practices of the various tribes that they gradually conquered and assimilated. Here then was the second principal element in the development of Mazdeism, and it is necessary to inquire more particularly on this point.

It has been abundantly shown that the tribes in Elam and Media before the appearance of the Aryans

[1] Darmesteter Ibid. p. lviii.

[2] King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 31.
Geiger: "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," p. xxvi.
Max. Muller: "Zend-Avesta," p. 83.
"Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 143.
Mills: "Pahlavi Texts," Pt. I. p. lxxi.
"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. V.

[3] Bleek: "Avesta," p. x.

[4] Mills: "Zend-Avesta," p. xxxvii. "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI. Yasna, xxxii., apparently describes a conflict between two sections. But it was perhaps a conflict between Magism and the first religious conceptions of the Iranians.

were Turanians. Like all Turanian people they had a rich mythology. But more important still was the organization of their priesthood. We have had occasion to refer to the importance of this observation several times.[1]



Temple at Benares.

It tends steadily to the formation of a powerful priestly body. Their priests were the Magi, a very much respected and greatly feared and consequently a very powerful

[1] Above p. 165.

body of men. They formed a close corporation, throughly organized and well disciplined.

During these centuries of fusion the Aryan tribes had been in general the conquerors; but as far as their religious culture is concerned, they gradually passed under the control of the Magi. Advanced to power by the half Turanian Cyrus,[1] we see them defeated in their attempt to grasp supreme power under the leadership of the false Smerdis. yet they doubtless increased in power under the Achaemenian kings. Stationary under the Greek rule, they revived under the Parthian supremacy, and triumphed with Ardeshir, the Sassanian.[2] Under the reign of this latter king, Mazdeism entered on its final stage. It is to the presence of this priestly body, influenced by ideas derived from Babylon and Assyria, that is to say by Semitic influence, that we are to ascribe a large part of what we find strange in Mazdeism.

There was once a vast mass of literature expounding the doctrines of Mazdeism, only fragments of which remain, and these fragments are of greatly different ages.[3] No doubt the Gathas are very ancient. It is by contrasting the statements in the various manuscripts that we make out the gradual development of Mazdeism. Every great religion that has moved the world is centered around an individual. A great dispute has been waged as to whether Zoroaster, the great prophet of Mazdeism, be an historical

[1] Xen. Cyrop. viii. 1-3.

[2] We have already had ocasion to mention this rise and fall. Above p. 103.

[3] The *Avesta* (Revelation) constitutes the oldest collection. Commentaries on the Avesta, composed in the Pahlavi dialect (of Sassanian times) form the *Zend*. The *Bundahis* (Original Creation) is a collection of mythological fragments existing only in the Pahlavi dialect. Of the Avesta, again, the *Gathas* of unknown antiquity form the oldest portion, the *Yasna* and *Visperad* are supposed to be more modern, and the *Vendidad*, the last in order of time.

personage or not.[1] The most eminent
directly opposite conclusions on this p t.[2]
member that there is the utmost divers o
when he flourished and where he was born.[3] it
that the name of the chief priest of the M
times, was the same as the name of h it
age.[4] This may explain the matter, f may
name Zoroaster as that of an official and not of

It is a very difficult task to give within the l
a few pages an outline of this religion. If in t
are presented with songs in which the older my
about vanishing in poetry, we are more forcibly
the almost complete loss of this mythology in
writings. In the very oldest or Gathic period,
dinary stage of development had been
many superstitious customs still held
through it all, was an under-current of iri
which has excited the admiration of nearly l in

All nature seemed to the poets of the Gathas to t
the doctrine of Dualism. We have cold and heat, l it
and darkness, and so also good and evil. Among the
ians we have seen the final gathering of all the good i
Spirit, and all the evil into Matter. The Iranians,
other hand, found the presence of good and evil in e

[1] Above p. 100.

[2] Mills, in his "Introduction to the Gathas," ("**Sacred Books,**" **Vol.** XXXI.) comes to the conclusion, that he was **an historical personage,** "A toiling prophet." Darmesteter in "Introduction to the **Vendidad,**" (Vol. IV.) concludes he was a mythical **personage,** "**A storm god.**"

[3] Above p. 101.

[4] Prof. Wilder in his edition of Payne Knight's "**Ancient Art,**" **p. 58.** Cf. etymology given in "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 141.

[5] Vide also Yasna xxviii. The prayer is for needed **spiritual help for** Zoroaster and *us* It would seem that this *us* **refers to the Magian** priesthood in general. Cf. Mill's note on this "**Sacred Books,**" **Vol.** XXXI. p. 21.

thing—in spirit as well as in matter. They therefore con-



Druid Sacrifice.

ceived that all forms of life and all forms of creation, are

the results c d action of two principles, or tendencies independe t of each other, one work good and one for evil. Hence there is good and e everything—supernatural beings, men, animals and p and material things. These two principles are simply a Better principle and a Worse one.[1]

The practical consequence of this belief was a di sion of everything between these two principles. supernatural powers made their choice, and were ex ing their powers, either on the side of the Better W the Worse one. The great duty of man in this life choose the Better Way "as to thought, as to word, to deed." The animal world was divided as t supposed to have been most influenced by the one or the other. All animals in any way helpful to m of course most influenced by the Better princi are then presented with two opposing courts in the natural world. At the head of each there was p supreme ruler, under whom were arranged the various orders of gods and genii.

At the head of the forces of the Better Way, was placed Ahura Mazda as leader, and the most powerful god as pointed out above. This god was far more ancient than the doctrines of Dualism. He is derived from Varuna, the all embracing sky. He is usually described as possessed of all the attributes of Deity. He is wise, holy, just, and benign. But at the same time other expressions occur showing that after all he was simply the *most* powerful

[1] Yasna xxx. 3. Yasna xlv. 2. It is scarcely correct to speak of these principles as "personal beings." It was no doubt hard for these old poets to express their meaning. They had to use nouns of a more or less personal significance. Vide "Sacred Books," Vol. XXXI. p. 25 and p. 125, note 2. A fair statement of this article of their creed would be that they recognized two opposing tendencies in every thing.

god, not the *all* powerful one. In time of trouble he offered up a sacrifice to Vayu[1] and begged his help and protection,[2] and likewise to the goddess Anahita,[3] he offered sacrifice and presented gifts, and begged her assistance in bringing up the holy Zoroaster.[4] He too recognizes that but part of himself, his fravashi,[5] was immortal. In fact the Iranian conception of him was, that he was simply "the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings."[6] He seems to owe much of his great power to his knowledge of magical formulæ, with one of these he confounded the evil one.[7]

Though in the Gathas he is called the "Great Creator," it is none the less true that all creations are simply the union of the two principles.[8] Under the leadership of Ahura Mazda are ranged subordinate deities. Chaldean mythology knew of "seven gods of the vast heavens, seven gods of the great earth, seven gods of the igneous spheres."[9] It is not surprising to learn of six superior gods (forming with Ahura Mazda, a group of seven), who assisted Ahura Mazda in his government; his cabinet, so to speak, each one taking a special department under his care; we must remember that the Gathas were instructions for the priests, and hence we need not be surprised to notice how refined become some of these older concep-

[1] The God of the Atmosphere. [2] Ram Yast, I.-3. [3] Goddess of Water.
[4] Aban Yast, v. Fargard, xix. 14. [5] Ibid. [6] Yasna xix. 15.
[7] Bundahis i. 21.

[8] Ahura Mazda is generally represented as the good principle himself. Yet in Yasna xxx. he is distinctly represented as choosing the good principle; and, if we are to judge from language, all spiritual beings (including the pre-existing souls of men,) are already in existence. They are represented as choosing which to follow. Probably as being at the head of good order, Ahura Mazda became confounded with the good principle itself.

[9] Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic," p. 17.

tions. In the Gathas these seven are the *Ameshospands*.[1] Though they are regarded as persons they are at the same time the attributes or messengers of Ahura Mazda.[2] As in general the crude conceptions must have preceded the refined, we feel confident that the Ameshospands formed the great gods of Iranian mythology, though the effort was to refine them away to mere attributes of the deity. This effort however failed, they remained distinct beings.[3]

Clear traces of the former presence of polytheism in the worship of the Iranians may be traced in other directions. Even in the age of the Avestas, prayers were to be said to numerous gods and goddesses; to Atar (fire), the son of Ahura Mazda;[4] to Mithra, the "Lord of wide pastures," who came ultimately to mean the sun;[5] to Ardvi Anahita, the goddess of water,[6] as well as to the sun and the moon.[7] As in Chaldea we find the months named after Chaldean gods,[8] so in Persia, each month was orginally named after one of the gods of the old pantheon.[9] Each day of the month was placed under the protection of one of the old deities, and a special prayer was appropriated to each.[10] Nor is the list yet exhausted, but enough has now been set forth to show the clear traces of a former polytheism. Let us simply notice, that here as elsewhere, there was probably quite a difference between the views of the priestly class and the masses of the people.

We have so far been dealing with the forces that choose the Better Way, under the leadership of Ahura

[1] Yasna xxix. 7-9. From whence comes the Amshospands of literature. [2] "Sacred Books" Vol. XXVI. Introduction p. xviii and xxiv. here, for instance two Ameshospands are represented as persons.

[3] Many other such passages could be quoted.

[4] Atas Nyasis. [5] Mihir Nyasis. [6] Abân Nyasis. [7] Korshed Nyasis Vide, the "Nyasis" in "Sacred Books" Vol. XXII.

[8] "Records of the Past," Vol. I. p. 102.

[9] Geiger: "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," p. 142 *et seq.*

[10] These prayers form the collections of the Yasts.

Mazda. Opposed to these there was a similar array devoted to the Worse Way. At the head of the forces of evil was Angra Mainyu. We cannot point back to some one god of the older mythology as the source of the conception of Angra Mainyu. The conception of him arose from the necessities of the theory, there must be some opposing leader to Ahura Mazda[1] He is, so to speak, the negative projection of Ahura Mazda,[2] and the organization of the forces of evil was modeled on exactly the same lines as those of the good. The six Ameshospands were confronted by six greater demons who formed the grand council of Angra Mainyu. In short to every force of good was opposed a corresponding evil force.[3]

We have now presented an outline of Mazdeism in its earlier stages. As time passed on, changes took place. Ahura Mazda, as head of the forces of good, became gradually confused with the good principle, and ended by being considered as identical with it. The case is similar with regard to Angra Mainyu, except that probably he never assumed a well defined form before the foregoing stage had been taken by Ahura Mazda, and consequently he was always considered the evil principle.[4] But another change still is in progress. The priestly idea of Dualism, that good and evil were *united* in the creation of all things, was probably too refined for the masses.[5] The popular idea

1 *Mainyu* means spiritual power. Spenta Mainyu meant the best spirit (Yasna xxxiv. 2; xxxii. 16) and often means simply the spirit of Ahura Mazda (Yasna xxx. 3), in the same way as we talk of God, and God's spirit. Angra Mainyu was the evil spiritual power; in Yasna xxx. it is simply called the Worse Way. 2 "Sacred Books," Vol. IV.

3 It may be interesting to note that Chaldean mythology knew of "Seven demons of the Igneous spheres," the opponents of the seven great gods.

4 Strictly speaking, it was not Ahura Mazda, but his spirit, Spenta Mainyu, that was considered the good principle. Vide Geiger; Op. cit., p. lviii. 5 This is the doctrine in Yasna xxx.

was embodied in the later writings of the Ve ,[1] especially in the mythological collection of the Bu written in the Pahlavi dialect, and belonging ly Sassanian times.[2] The popular conception , Ahura Mazda created all good things, while A Mainyu, for spite, so to speak, creates the bad. F every good place that Ahura Mazda creates, Ang creates some specific evil. Ahura Mazda cr the animals, but Angra Mainyu diffused over the ea tl ious creatures, such as snakes and scorpions. E blight to fall on vegetation,[3] and mingled smoke ness with fire.[4] Avarice, want, pain, hunger, c lust were some of the sins he set in motion.[5]

A state of mind advanced enough to c eive first principles, one evil and one good, n the further question, whether this confl to Humanity, weary with striving, longs for r . I philosophy looked forward to union with Brahma final goal. The Iranian prophets looked forward to the final triumph of Ahura Mazda over the wicked one,[6] and popular fancy dreamed of the happy paradise of Yima, where the rivers flow between ever green banks bearing never failing food and every kind of tree of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on earth, but no sin or sorrow was to enter there.[7] But these blessings were to be the reward only of those who were pure in word, in thought, and in deed. It is in the Bundahis that the six Ameshospands

[1] Cf. Fargard i.

[2] Here notice how true it is, that in sacred writings, the first writing of the priestly class is by no means a fair representative of popular opinion. We have pointed out how true that was in the Vedas, have observed it true in the sacred writing of the Hebrews, and here we find it among the Iranians.

[3] "Bundahis," iii. 16. [4] Ibid. 24. [5] Ibid 17. [6] Yasna xxx. 8.

[7] Fargard ii. 26-28.

became six archangels and the other gods became angelic powers. Each taking an active part in the work of creation.

One inquiry yet remains before us in this secondary stage of Mazdeism, and that is what was the relation of soul to matter. They taught the pre-existence of the souls of men, not until after creation was completed do they enter bodies.[1] They thought that in order for the soul to enjoy happiness of the best mental state, which was their comprehensive definition of heaven,[2] it must meet and overcome the powers of evil. Ahura Mazda is represented as giving these pre-existing souls the choice of either remaining as they were, spiritual creations,[3] and be always furnished with a protector, or to assume material bodies, meet and conquer temptations, and then enjoy an immortality of happiness with him.[4]

If we stop to survey the ground over which we have now gone, we can see how widely Mazdeism departs from the Indian philosophy. These differences, we think, come largely from Semitic sources. It is no less certain, as we shall soon show, that this systematized belief reacted on, and greatly influenced, the religion of Israel. But for the present, let us notice still a third stage of Mazdeism where we seem to have before us the influence of later Indian thought. Dualism, after all, is unsatisfactory, the world desires to get back to a First Cause. We have seen how, in the first stage, Mazdeism taught the existence of two, co-equal, co-eternal powers; how, in the second stage, Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were considered to be these two

1 Yasna xxx. 7. 2 Yasna xxx, 4. 3 Yasna xxx. 7.

4 Bundahis, ii. 9-10. It may be of interest to remark that in Bundahis we have the doctrine of the resurection of the dead taught with great fulness of detail, (chap. xxx.) the final judgment is also described, and we find the final restoration of the wicked to the joys of heaven is taught.

first principles. But now the equality between
is destroyed since Ahura Mazda was to conquer in th
In many ways, he is represented as the superior of A
Mainyu.[1]

This was in the direction of monotheism. T
was finally taken, but not in Avesta times,[2] and
taught the existence of one Supreme God. Both A
Mazda and Angra Mainyu were held to be created
derived from one eternal essence *Zrvan A*
without bounds." We do not gather this, hc
Persian sources, but rather from late Greek
Thus this doctrine was subsequent to the
Christianity, and may have been influe
source.[4] But on investigation, the doctrine q
seen to bear more resemblance to Ind ph y.
probably the current began to set tc
long before the downfall of Mazdeism.[5]

Analogous to the Vedantic system of philosophy, Zrvan Akarana, like Brahma, while the Supreme God, is far removed from all wordly affairs. Like Brahma, he hands over all the work of creation to the two subordinate gods (Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu), which he had produced by emanations from himself. The doctrine of

1 This comes out very plainly in Bundahis, i. Ahura Mazda is represented as omniscient, Angra Mainyu as "backward in knowledge," imposed upon through ignorance, and quite overcome by the spells of Ahura Mazda.

2 See West: "Pahlavi Texts," "Sacred Books," Vol. V. p. lxx.

3 On the "Boundless Time" question consult Wilson: "Parsi Religion," p. 123 *et seq*; King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 29 *et seq*: (Cf. Mansel: "Gnostic Heresies," p. 40 : "Sacred Books," Vol. IV. p. lxxxii. Vol. V. p. lxx. Johnson: "Oriental Religions," Persia, p. 98 *et seq*.

4 In its first beginnings it antedates Christianity. It was known to Aristotle, and as early as the third century "Boundless Time" had been transformed into a legendary hero, "Sacred Books," Vol. IV. p. lxxxii. note 3

5 "Sacred Books," Vol. IV., p. lxxxviii.

knows, the Greeks had a fully developed
thology. They had brought with them fr
tive home the greater gods of their
also welcomed some of the mythical divini
neighboring people in Asia. The Greeks h in
of many centuries advanced through the
primitive religion. We must notice one int in
nection, since on it depends much that is ul
the Greeks. There was no strongly organized pr
among them. Nothing even remotely appr hi
Brahman caste in India, or the Magian priesth
the Persians. Each house-father conducted t
of his household, and tribal officers attended to
duties for the tribe.[1]

Important results follow from the foregoing.
lection of priestly writings, corresponding to the
Avestas, was made which the masses of the peo
required to accept as infallible, inspired oracl con-
sequence, there was much greater freedom of intellectual
life. Neither was there a religion of forms and ceremonies
which the people were expected to follow. All this con-
tributed in no small degree to the great excellence of the
Greeks in literature, science, and art. In Greece, no
system of religion, accordingly, took its rise. But their
keen intellect, not fettered by the restraints just mentioned,
had of course considered the problems which come to all
men,[2] and had in several ways attempted to answer the
same. We want to examine some of these answers.

The seventh century B.C. was one of considerable im-

[1] This was the Aryan custom. Remember that both the Iranians and Indians, who had an organized priesthood, had also in each case conquered and incorporated in their ranks well advanced Turanian people. The Druids of Western Europe are a result of the same procedure.

[2] Above p. 730.

portance to Aryan Europe. Psammetichus, pharaoh of Egypt, threw open the ports of that country (670 B. C.), and abandoned the policy of isolation that had been pursued for ages. This must have given a great stimulus to the commercial and intellectual life, and this caused a wonderful expansion of the intellectual horizon of the Greeks. This century also witnessed the growing power of the Aryans in Asia. The tribes that were to overthrow Semitic power were growing into one homogenious whole under the head of Media and Persia. This cause, no less than the former, conduced to the expanse of the Greek intellect.

It is not strange then that, as this century drew to a close, we should find evidence of a general scepticism among the educated classes in Greece regarding the mythology still held in reverence by the masses of the people. It would not do to be too bold in openly denouncing it, but day by day the misty forms of the Olympian gods grew fainter, while philosophical speculations grew clearer. The various opinions of Greek thinkers finally assumed systematic shapes, and we are presented with what are called schools of philosophy. We must remember that no one school was peculiar to any one time. Representatives of the various schools of thought were to be found at all times. We have already had occasion to mention the views of some of the Greek philosophers. We here need only to show their position in the scale of Aryan culture. At the earliest time, we find divergent views held, and it is interesting to take a general survey of the field.

The Ionic school taught that matter was the one eternal principle. Even the gods took their origin from thence. They differed, as we have seen, as to what form of matter it was, that was the elementary substance. While one said it was water, another called it air. These

older philosophers do not seem to have c
selves very much with the spiritual part of man.
thing sprang from the material element assumed
primary one.[1] But alongside of this reasoning
another line of thought. Anaximander[2] was not will
adopt any one concrete substance as his elemer he
back on an abstract speculation—*The Infinite*,
thereby, perhaps, primal matter.

This idea of the Infinite was closely akin to
thagorean philosophy.[3] After all researches th
main considerable mystery in regard to this
school. In many ways, we detect an Oriental
He formed a society resembling in many respec
societies in India. Only after a long novitiate w
bers admitted to full membership. The life in
was largely ascetic. They believed the body p
the soul. They believed in transmigration
pure and holy life was the only escape from th evil.[5] All
this betrays an unmistakable Indian influence. We must
also reflect that at this time the Orphic and Bacchic
mysteries spread throughout Greece,[6] and there is a strong
probability that these spread into Greece from India.[7] We
may therefore be sure, that the real doctrine of the Py-
thagoreans was a secret one, to be divulged only to the in-
itiates. Hence perhaps, the great uncertainty in regard
to it.[8] It is evident from what we have just stated that

1 Such is the general view of writers on this subject. Mahan: "History of Philosophy," argues the contrary view for Thales.

2 Anaximander is not always classed as an Ionic philosopher. Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 13.

3 Cf. Lewis, l.c. 4 Mahan: "History of Philosophy," p. 187.

5 Cf. Schwegeler: p. 14. 6 Zeller: "Greek Philosophy," Vol. II., p. 497.

7 Taylor: "Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries." Wilder's edition, p. xx. note, also p. 125. note.

8 Above p. 488.

the Pythagorean school was an exotic in Greece, still it exerted a great influence on Greek thought.[1]

In the third school of Greek philosophy, the Eleatic, we see the current of Greek thought setting steadily towards Pantheism. The "Being" of Parmenides is strikingly similar to Brahma of the Hindoos. He, equally with them, denied the reality of the phenomenal world; but, like them, he was obliged to attempt a practical explanation of it. The pure "Being" was sometimes united with an opposite influence. For instance if we call Being light, it was at times united with darkness; or if we designated it heat, it was at times united with cold; or if we call the former rare, the latter was dense. What is this but Brahma united with illusion?[2] In the teachings of Heraclitus, the obscure, Pantheism is also taught.[3] We have already pointed out how he attempted to surmount the difficulty, sure to rise in every system of Pantheism, of accounting for the phenomenal world.[4] Here notice the distinction between the Ionic and Eleatic philosophers. They both sought for some one principle or element from whence all was derived. The first school found such an element in some form of matter; the second school found it in some formal cause. The maxim of the Eleatics was that "All comes from one," this



Pythagoras.

[1] Bunsen ("Angel Messiah," p. 67 *et seq.*) writes to show that Pythagoras was a Buddhist. Cf. etymology p. 75.

[2] Zeller: "Greek Philosophy," Vol. II. p. 593. [3] Zeller, Vol. II. p. 46. [4] Above p. 491.

was but another statement of the Hindoo maxim that ' Atman is Universe."

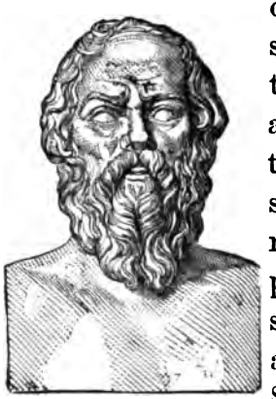
But if both the schools so far discussed taught we find philosophers in Greece who taught They recognized the reality of the world of mat explain the many problems, they had to conceive of t working of a second incorporal element. An B. C.) thought that matter had always existed in of an infinite number of elements; but these ele not the atoms of later thought, but compound which by coalescing form sensible bodies. For elementary molecules of flesh were conceived to which united to form the flesh of a body, bodies, such as stone, bone, and wood.[1] But the these molecules was effected by an eternally e *telligence*—in short, by *mind* or *spirit*. Th merit of his philosophy, still, as Anaxago great office of this intelligence was simply to ter, and thus his conception was far short of the concep of an intelligent ruler of the universe.[2] Diogenes of Apolonia (460 B.C.),tried to combine the doctrine of Anaxagoras with Ionian philosophy. Others again, impressed with the doctrines of Anaxagoras concerning the infinity of the molecules, but rejecting his ideas as to intelligence, introduced the Atomistic philosophy; the great leader of this school was Democritus (460 B. C.) They too believed in the eternity of matter. It existed in an infinite number of atoms, but the combination of these atoms was effected by

[1] Lewis, Vol. I. p. 87. Zeller, Vol. II. p. 332.

[2] On this important point, compare Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p 76. Zeller: "History of Greek Philosophy," Vol. II. p. 344, *et seq.* Schwegler, Op. cit. p. 29. The contrary view is maintained by Mahan: "A Critical History of Philosophy," p. 186 *et seq.* Some Mahan) have supposed that Anaxagoras derived his ideas from the Jews. This is generally given up. Cf. Zeller, Vol. I, p. 37 *et seq.*

necessity, not by chance as it is sometimes represented, but by inexorable laws inherent in matter.[1] Empedocles (440 B. C.) with his four elements[2] shows us the Greek intellect striving to get back to unity; for the many of Democritus, he returns to four elements, united by love, disassociated by hate.

We are now down to the age of Socrates. Taking a general view of Greek thought as far as we have gone, we notice that the tendency is in the direction of either materialism or pantheism. We need not be surprised to note that some of the acute thinkers of Greece were fast drifting towards scepticism. This result was inevitable. Philosophy was talking learnedly about the "Being" and the "Becoming," and showing how the common notions, respecting time, space, motion, etc.,[3] were all in error, denying in fact the reality of the phenomenal world. As a natural consequence, a reaction was sure to occur, and we find those subtle disputants, the Sophists, furnishing the arguments to convince the people that nothing really could be known, and that there was no real criterion of virtue.



Socrates.

It was at this stage that Socrates appeared. An account of his life has already been given.[4] Now the great value of Socrates' teachings was not in any philosophical scheme which he supported, for he had no philosophy. But he did teach a new method of search. He did insist on a clearing up of thought. He wanted to know what people

[1] Zeller, Vol. II. p. 237. [2] Above p. 492.
[3] Above p. 491. [4] Above p. 493.

t when they used the learned
y a most skillful cross-exami tion s
weakness of the d t
and attempted to asssist
form clearer ideas. He
on the practice of
emplified it in his l
crates thus made
sion on Greek thought,
by his tragic death. Tl l
Xenophon wrote an acc t
life.[1] After his death, e v e r l
schools attempted to f c
they conceived to be his doctrines. The d
ynics, of which the churlish Diogenes
ather a perversion than a development of the
nent.



Xenophon.

to, the disciple of
es, marks s u c h
portant epoch in
philosophy that
ist e n l a r g e to
extent on the ac-
of him a l r e a d y
After the death
ates, Plato spent
years in travel
dly, and acquaint-
n s e l f with the
phical views of
rincipal philoso-
hools of that time. In this way, he became ac-



morabilia.

2 Above p. 497.

quainted with the views of the Eleatic school, and with Pythagoreanism. Tradition relates that he traveled in *Egypt*.[1] When he returned to Athens, he established a school known as the Academy, and here he taught his doctrines, in which we find elements taken from all the older systems.

If the Pythagoreans had esoteric doctrines different from their exoteric teachings, we might reasonably look for such a distinction in the teachings of the older Academy. It is admitted that a great deal of confusion exists as to what Plato's philosophy was.[2] Scarcely one of the really important points of his theory has been left so clearly stated that all agree on what he taught.[3] It is supposed by some writers that Plato was purposely obscure on these points. He only wished to be understood by initiates.[4] This view, however, is not favored by the best scholars.[5]

The central point of Plato's teaching was the "World of Ideas." Socrates had insisted on the necessity of clear general concepts. For instance if arguing in reference to a horse, he did not want to know about some particular horse—this black one, or that red one, big or little, old or young—but a clear definition of horse in general. The importance of this will be at once apparent when we reflect how much scientific advance to day depends on this very process. Now Plato and his school, strange as it may seem to us, called such general terms as this *ideas*, and

[1] Vide Zeller: "The Older Academy," p. 23 note.

[2] Vide Lewis: "History of Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 205, *et seq.*

[3] Pres. Mahan ("Critical History of Philosophy," p. 236) states five points which "all authorities admit Plato did hold and teach," yet the most of them are questioned.

[4] Vide "Isis Unveiled." Vol. II. p. 39 Zeller: "Older Academy," p. 87.

[5] Ibid. And yet as an initiate in the Greek Mysteries, some doctrines he either would not mention at all, or else cloak them in obscure language.

imagined them to have a separate independent existence. Every sensible thing we see around us—trees, stones, animals, material objects such as houses, bedsteads, etc.—has its living idea in the shadowy "world of ideas."

Probably with our utmost endeavors, we could not fully understand Plato's reasoning on this point. We have pointed out the Hindoo conception of Brahma, the only real existence, and all this phenomenal world is only an illus-



Plato.

sion, and have also pointed out that the "Being" of Parmenides corresponds to this idea among the Greeks. Now among the Eleatics generally, this pure Being was unity, one eternal essence. Plato's "world of ideas", taken collectively, corresponds exactly to this thought Or we may say that instead of one eternal essence, he conceived of an infinite number of such essences.

The Hindoos said that the material world was simply

Brahma conjoined with illusion. The Platonists said that sensible things are formed by the participation of the eternally pre-existing ideas with—matter. But when we seek further to know what this matter is, we find language employed that seems to come to about the Indian meaning. It is the *no-being*, the *non-existent*; it is to be apprehended neither by thought, nor by perception; it is the *empty*.[1] It does not become clear what is meant by the word participation.[2] Ideas are, in short, the only true existence. Things only really exist in proportion as they participate in the idea. From the foregoing it is seen to be hard to show wherein he differs from the Hindoo theory of things, save that they held to but one essence, he to an infinite number.

But we are not yet through with this singular theory of ideas. They were not only really existing things, but they were *powers*, he regarded them as *living*, *active*, *intelligible*, and *reasonable*.[3] In short, ideas are supernatural powers, *gods* in other words. And now notice; the supreme idea of all, that is the idea of good, becomes the Supreme God. As this is the highest and noblest concept that can be found, it is not strange that it should be considered as the Supreme God.[4] If this view be correct we can see at once that Plato's monotheism was not of a very high order.[5]

[1] Other views of course exist, we must refer to Zeller: "The Older Academy". Alleyne and Goodwin's translation, London, 1876. p. 263 *et seq.* See also Schwegler: "Hist. of Philosophy," Sterling's translation New York, 1885. For opposite view see Mahan, Op. cit. p. 236

[2] Zeller, Op. cit. p. 235. Ueberwig, "Hist. of Phil". p. 116.

[3] Ueberwig, Op. cit. Zeller, Op. cit. p. 267.

[4] In Timaeus, the Demiurge, who shapes all things for good, is the "Idea of Good," Ueberwig, p. 116

[5] Vide Zeller: "The Older Academy," p. 279 *et seq.*, especially note 181. Also Schwegler, Op. cit. p. 81. We must understand however that the "Idea of God" is the highest generalization possible. It is the idea of ideas; Lewis: "Greek Philosophy" Vol. II. 259. Ferrier: "Lectures on

Plato's ideas as to the soul are equally strange. ere is first of all a "world-soul" filling all space. This l is intermediate between the ideas and the things. It rtakes of the nature of both.[1] Human souls consist of ee parts—the cogitative, courageous, and appetitive ls.[2] There seems to be some confusion in the writings at- buted to Plato whether these three souls were equally ted in pre-existing life, and whether all united were im- rtal.[3] But at least the highest soul of man was im- rtal, and indeed had existed as part of the world-soul m past eternity. It is well known that Plato also ght the transmigration of souls.



Plato.

Plato's methods of work were more luable than his results. Both Socrates l Plato by insisting on the necessity of ming clear opinions of subjects dis- sed performed a most invaluable ser- e for men. We need not longer dwell Greek philosophy. The work of Aris- le has been sufficiently mentioned.[4] In schools of Epicurus and Zeno the Stoic, see the pendulum once more swinging vards scepticism. Such a result was to expected. Plato's philosophy could no more satisfy m than the preceding systems.

In order to give completeness to our present review, must glance now at the conflict between Aryan and mitic thought. We must recall to mind that, near the

ek Philosophy," Vol. I. p. 344. The opposite line of thought may be nd in Mahan: "Hist. of Phil." p. 251.

[1] Zeller, Op. cit., p. 341 *et seq.* Ueberwig, p. 123.

[2] The appetitive soul is possessed by plants, the appetitive and cour- ous souls by animals, but only man has all three souls.

[3] Zeller, Op. cit. p. 389. *et seq.* [4] Above p. 409.

beginning of the sixth century B. C., the kingdom of Jud was destroyed and the principal people taken captive Babylon. When Aryan power supervened in Weste Asia, these captives were permitted to return to Jeru lem. Some of them did so, and as we have seen Judais as a fully organized church, was then instituted. But know that a very large number of Jews remained in Babylon, and in that section were located the princi literary institutions of the Jews.[1]

From the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus to the era the Seleucidae, or for two centuries, Jerusalem remain tributary to Persia. It was a ti of internal peace and quiet. would be more than singular, th if the religious beliefs of the J were not modified by Persian fluence. And it may well be, t the religion of Persia was modi in its turn by that of the Je Perhaps to this period is to traced the gradual rise of the be that both Ahura Mazda and An Mainyu were subordinate to Zr Akarana. Those of our scholars who think that the P tateuch of the old Testament was a late production,[2] po out many striking passages in the ritual of the Israeli and the Persians. The numerous regulations in regard the fire on Yaveh's altar are parallelled by similar ru in reference to the fire of Ahura Mazda,[3] and other equa striking quotations could be given. It may be, howev that we have here to do with customs which arose qu independently of each other.



Zeno.

[1] Hunt: "Gnostic Remains," p. 32. [2] See Vol. II. p. 748, note.
[3] "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 144, *et seq.*

But passing by that for the present, there is one point on which it is quite generally admitted that Mazdeism made itself felt. Mazdeizm taught the existence of fully organized spiritual kingdoms of good and evil. Now it is not necessary to say that these ideas were for the first time introduced into Jewish thought, but it is true that the ideas of the Jews as to angels and devils were cleared up by this contact, and they even used some of the terms employed by the Persians. In the writings of Ezekiel, and especially in Zechariah, angels play an important part. The seven ameshospands are supposed to make their appearance in the latter writer.[1] The book of Daniel shows a further advance in this direction. There, for the first time, names are given to angels, such as Gabriel or Michael;[2] and they are divided into classes, such as "Watchers."[3] But this influence shows itself still more strongly in the organization of the forces of evil. It is quite generally agreed that Satan is the Jewish version of Angra Mainyu. In this last statement we do not mean to say that the idea of Satan was unknown to the older writers, but his character there is altogether different from his character after the Captivity. In Job, for instance, he is still a servant of Yaveh and undertakes to carry out Yaveh's will.[4]

Another important point must not be overlooked. There was at Babylon a college of Magi. There were three grades of these priests. According to the Bible, Daniel, a Jew, was placed at the head of this college.[5] This priestly organization was not lost on the Jews. The great

[1] Zech. iii. 9; iv. 2-10. Vide on this point Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 38.

[2] Dan viii. 16; xi. 21; x. 13-21; xii. 1.

[3] Dan iv. 13.

[4] Job i. 6. Vide Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 89; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 184. Cf. "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 142.

[5] Dan. ii. 48.

Synagogue, as founded by Ezra, appears to have been of a similar nature;[1] the three grades of scholars—Rab, Rabbi, and Rabboni—corresponding to the three grades of Magi.[2] The sect of the Pharisees may possibly be traced back to this same period. Some have suggested that their name was derived from *Pharis*, that is "Persian."[3] In short, the ecclesiastical machinery of the Jewish state shows the impress of Persian influence. One result was the gradual formation of a body of secret or esoteric traditions, which ultimately developed into the Kabalah, to which we will refer later.

Now, in order to further understand our subject, it is necessary for us to stop talking about the sayings of the philosophers and turn to consider the state of affairs among the masses of the people. In no country, not even in ancient Greece, were the masses of the people, philosophizing or finding comfort in creeds. Let us then see how the old mythical conceptions of the people gradually changed with time. Let us notice the tendency of advancing culture to attach to the festival gatherings of primitive times more and more religious and philosophical meaning. And here we must lament that lack of space prevents our dwelling on many important details, a full understanding of which would solve many knotty points in the history of the development of religion.

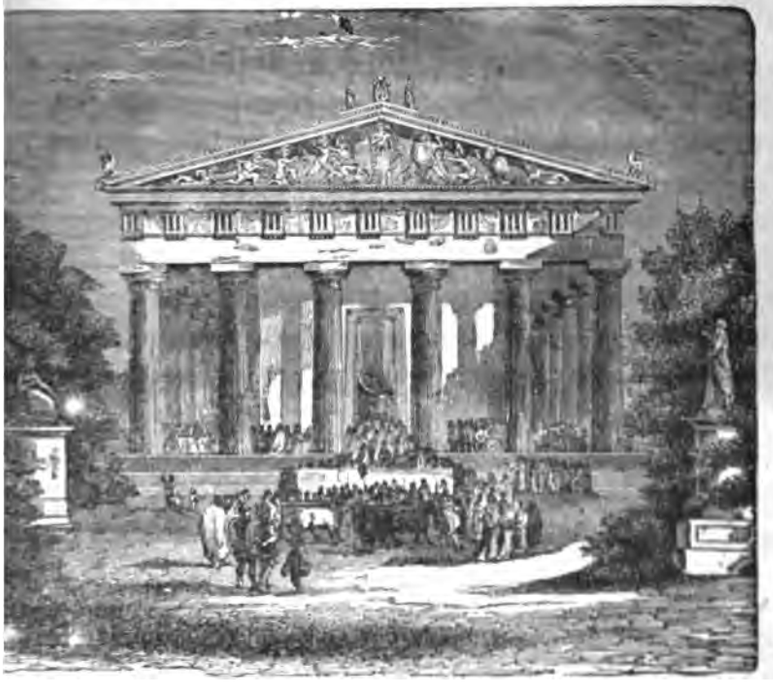
Even the lowest races of men delight in festival

1 Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 4.

2 Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 84.

3 King remarks that this etymology "has something to commend it." ("Gnostic Remains," p. 33.) Bunsen suggests that this may be the source of the name. For this he is fiercely assailed by Kuenen as one who has forfeited all claims to be heard in the matter. ("Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 235.) This sweeping criticism is, to say the least, utterly uncalled for. It is an immaterial point in Bunsen's arguments, and he nowhere does more than suggest its possibility.

atherings. The Australians have their *corroborree* where enes of wild license sometimes occur. And generally l men have their feast days. Advancing intelligence nds to regulate these feasts and to make them significant. hen a people enter on the agricultural life, the feasts are nerally significant of some stage of agriculture; the feas sowing, of in-gathering, etc. But as men advance, the



Festival of the Pan-Hellenic Zeus at Aegina.

eat drama of the year enforces itself upon their atten- n, and we find feasts in celebration of the return of ring or the advent of winter. Feasts of this nature are ll nigh immortal. The Christian world still celebra- e spring festival, Easter.

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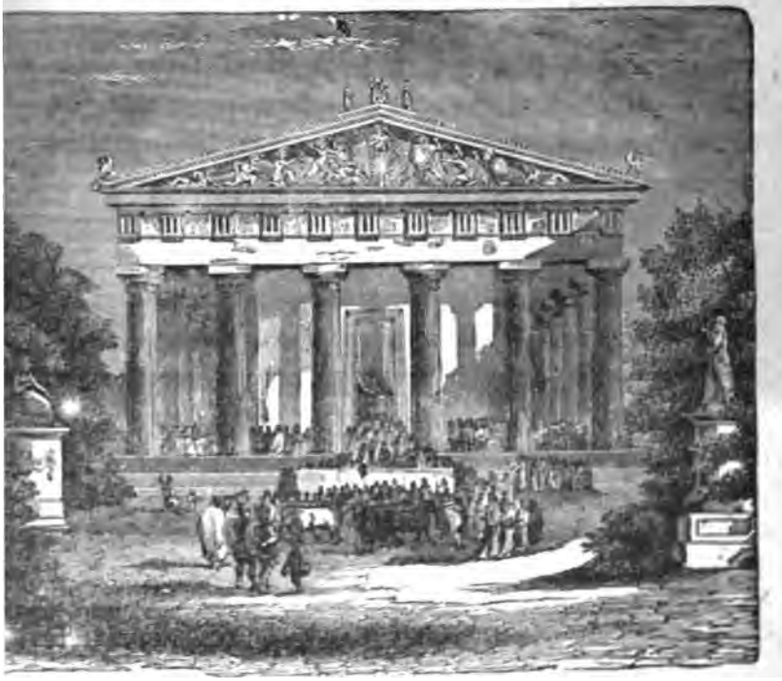
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ligion as much as possible. They have tried to make them significant of important events or epochs in their religious history. We need only refer to the importance of feasts among the Jews where, for instance, the spring festival was made significant of their departure from Egypt; or to the Christian world generally, which has eagerly adopted Easter and Christmas as representatives of the birth and resurrection of Christ.

We have spoken of esoteric and exoteric knowledge. The principle of human nature which gave rise to this division of knowledge is as old as humanity itself. Among the Australians, certain ceremonies are gone through with when the boys are initiated into the ranks of men, the nature of these rites must be kept a profound secret from children and women.[1] Advancing higher we find the savage priesthood making use of this tendency also. The people are divided into various grades; initiation from one into the next higher is generally attended with many ceremonies; with each advance the candidate gains "more light." Mr. Orpen's Bushman guide was induced to explain things as far as he knew, but he soon reached the limit of his knowledge, what lay beyond was known only to men of "another dance."[2]

In a similar way Lieutenant Cushing found among our Zuni Indians secret societies, with several grades of membership, each grade being an advance on the one below it in religious knowledge. In short, this principle is world wide. Advancing intelligence in general does not do away with this means of conveying religious knowledge, but simply changes the nature of the information given. It is only necessary to remark that the Orient is now, and

[1] Vide "Kamilaroi and Kurnai."
[2] Lang: "Myth, Ritual, and Religion," Vol. II. p. 12.

probably has been since some centuries before the Christian Era, honeycombed with these secret religious societies, where they never gained such prominency as in Greece. Let us remark further that the highest knowledge taught to the highest grades of the initiates must have been substantially the same everywhere, simply because the problems and means of solution were everywhere the same. We need not be surprised, then, to find that amongst some people, the festival occasions just mentioned were made to subserve this principle also. This introduces us to what are known as the *Mysteries* which played such an important part in ancient Greece; which, surviving into Christian times, excited the wrathful notices of church writers.

We have pointed out the absence of a strong priestly body in Greece, but have also observed the tendency of the Greek mind to ponder over the many problems of religion. We have observed Pythagoras forming one of the societies to which we just referred; doubtless long before his time there had been somewhat similar associations, certain it is that the "mysteries" delighted the Greeks. Probably that tendency of the human mind which finds comfort in some formal creed (which was denied to the Greeks) found here some satisfaction. Each little town in Greece probably had its local mysteries,[1] but as time passed on and Athens grew in importance, Eleusis in Attica became the place of the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the life of which long outlasted Greece itself, since they were not crushed out till the dawn of the fourth century of our era,[2] when the emperor finally abolished them.

Without going too much into detail we must give the outline of the myth which formed the base or exoteric part of this mystery; the story which furnished the drama,

[1] Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 222. [2] Ibid 223.

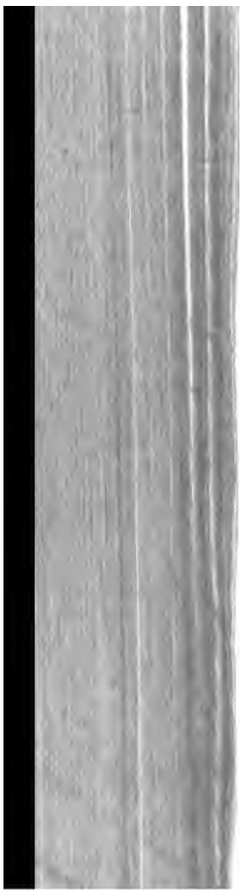


Rape of Persephone.

which was enacted at each recurrent festival. The chief personages of this story are Jupiter, Demeter, and their child Persephone. Persephone was so very beautiful that her mother hid her in a house built on purpose by the Cyclops. But Pluto had already caught sight of the maiden, and wished her for his wife. Jupiter was willing and instructed Venus, Diana, and Pallas to entice Persephone to go walking when her mother was worshiping.

Although warned by her mother not to leave the house, the maiden consents. This was Pluto's chance, and bursting through the earth he carried away the hapless maiden shrieking in his golden





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chariot. The grief stricken mother returns and commences a frantic search for her daughter. Helios (the sun) at length informs her of her daughter's fate. Thereupon Demeter, in anger, quits Olympus. Then the earth was no longer fruitful, nothing grew, and animals ceased to bear young. This course speedily brought Jupiter to his senses, and he sent by Hermes an imperative command to Pluto to release Persephone. Pluto did not dare to disobey, but with cunning malice he induced Persephone to eat a pomegranate seed. The effect was, that, though she was returned to her mother, still for one third of each year she was irresistably impelled to join her husband, Pluto, in the gloomy under-world.[1]



Pluto and Persephone.

Thus much for the story. It may strike some as difficult to see what religious instruction could be conveyed by it. Probably at first it was simply a nature story, a drama of the year. Persephone representing the new year, the four months, during which the earth bore no fruit, being the Winter. This may have been the first stage.[2] But when philosophy began to flourish in Greece, and men began to talk about spirit and matter and the bond between them, a new meaning was read into all these old ceremonies. The tendency in this direction would be hastened by the introduction of Dionysiac and Bacchic rites from India, and the spread of Pythagorean-

[1] Vide Keary: "Primitive Belief," p. 224 *et seq.* Also Taylor: "Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries," p. 87 *et seq.*

[2] This is the view of Keary, vide "Outlines of Primitive Belief."

ism.[1] Finally, about the time of Plato, it is supposed by some that a complete change had been effected in the meaning of the old drama.

According to this view, Jupiter and Demeter (heaven and earth) represent spirit and matter. Persephone their daughter is the soul. Pluto represents the body which imprisons the soul. The attendants of Persephone are all symbolical—Venus representing desire; Diana, the natural soul; and Minerva, the intellectual or courageous soul.[2] Attended by these, the immortal soul wanders forth to gather flowers, that is she becomes ensnared by the delusive attractions of sensible form, and thus is taken captive by matter (the body). Other details need not be given. It suffices to say that, in this manner, some think the philosophy of Greece was taught.[3]

The Athenians were greatly devoted to this mystery play. If a person neglected initiation into it, he was deemed atheistical (as in the case of Socrates). Before initiation into the great mysteries they had first to be admitted into the lesser mysteries at Agra by a process of purification. They were then called *mystae*, and took an oath of secrecy and received preparatory instructions. A year later the candidate might receive admission into the greater mysteries. The feast extended over nine days which we will not describe in detail. At the final initiation, the vows of secrecy were renewed, and the candidates were conducted in darkness by the hierophant, or interpreter, to the sacred inclosure. From two tablets of stone were read, by the interpreter,[4] the commandments now binding upon them. The candidates were conducted

[1] See above page 757 and note.—[2] Above page 765. [3] See Taylor, Op. cit.

[4] The two tablets of stone are *Peteroma*, the interpreter in all Oriental countries was *Peter*. Let us recall that, in the temples of old Chaldea, were to be found the two stone tablets, also recall the tablets of Jew-

into the lighted interior; where they learned the secret meaning of the rites. But what they there beheld and heard were secrets of the deepest order. Such candidates were now *epoptae*, or seers. But it seems that to some of the interior mysteries only a very limited number obtained initiation.



Demeter.

This hurried account must suffice for Greek Mysteries. In other countries, mystery plays do not seem to have been so fully acted out, but let us remember the Orient was full of secret societies, all fashioned on about the same model. And thus we see how as time passed on, and the ideas of the people in regard to soul and matter, God and man, grew clearer, there were gradually being formed two great divisions of the people, the one more enlightened than the other. We can further see how, wherever the priestly body was strongly developed, the tendency would be to confine this higher knowledge, wisdom,

ish law, and we begin to catch an idea of the antiquity of some of these rites. Did Christ have any reference to this office of interpreter in Mathew xvi. 18?

or *gnosis*, to their ranks. Now let us trace the first great revolt against this system, the rise of the first religious system world-wide in its aims.

More than one writer have traced out for us the many points of similarity between the mythology of the early Indians and the Teutonic tribes of Europe.[1] Maintaining, as we have, the European origin of the Aryans, some points in this resemblance are of especial interest. For many centuries, the Asiatic Aryans had been cut off from communication with Europe. While the Indians had been developing the system of Brahmanism, the beliefs of the Europeans were also changing. As pointed out above, Odhinn had become a great god of the Teutonic people. The Druids in Western Europe also made their appearance, and we catch sight of religious mysteries.

Near the close of the seventh century B. C., we have seen the Scyths crowding into Asia. By their inroads, the great empire of the Assyrians became so weakened that it fell before the assaults of the Medes and Persians.[2] Tradition has followed these Scyths into Western Asia. There seems to be also plain traces of their eastern wanderings. About the dawn of the sixth century, they invaded India from from the north.[3] Amongst their tribes was the Sakya.[4] Coming thus late from Europe, they probably knew of the later development of European mythology, and brought with them European customs. Amongst these was the building of chambered tumuli over the remains of eminent men,[5] and assembling there to worship his ghost. Their priests, probably organized to some extent like the Druids, were possessed of a secret

[1] Beary: "Outlines of Primitive Belief." [2] This Series Vol. II p. 798.
[3] Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 15. [4] Vide Beal in J. R. A. S., for 1882, p. 39.
[5] This Series Vol. I. p. 201.

tradition which they brought with them "from beyond," and they probably had some idea of the worship of Odhinn.

About the middle of the sixth century B.C., Gautama (who was destined to become the head of the greatest religious movement the world has yet seen[1]), a member of the Sakya tribe, was born. Tradition has it, that he was the son of the ruling chief. A short sketch of his life has already been given.[2] Judging the man by the results of his life, we can only conclude that he was one of those rare souls but few, the equals of which, have appeared in the history of the world. He was evidently a natural leader among men, his personal character must have been high and pure, he must have deeply pondered over the question of how to elevate his fellow men, he must have felt a deep compassion for the woes of humanity. The result of all this was, that he left such a profound impress on the people of his age that time has heightened the glory of his renown, rather than allowed it to fade away. But around that name and history, myths have been exceptionally busy, as we will point out.

As we have seen, his tribe had but recently been brought into contact with Hindoo life and thought. When Gautama appeared on the scene he seems to have been impressed with Hindoo philosophy. He determined to devote himself to it, to master its deepest secrets. Abandoning his kindred, we next hear of him in the vicinity of Vaisali, near Patna, about one hundred miles south of his former home on the flanks of the Himalaya.[3]

[1] Rhys Davids: "Buddhism," p. 6. At present Christians of all denominations, including the Greek Church, are only about three-fifths as numerous as the Buddhists. [2] Above p. 171.

[3] This step constitutes the "Great Renuciation" of the Buddhists. As to the question of the location of Buddha's home, see Oldenberg: "Buddha," 95.

Here he went through the severe training of a Brahman ascetic.[1] He chose his spiritual teacher, his *Guru*.[2] By him, he was doubtless made acquainted with the secrets of esoteric Brahmanism. Under the direction of his Guru, he doubtless went through the usual steps to obtain that



Statue of Buddha.

blissful state of mind known as *Yoga*.[3] The meaning of the

[1] Hence the origin of the name Sakya-Muni. That is Sakya Ascetic Beal: "Romance History," p. 152.

[2] This teacher was Alara Kalama ("Birth Stories," p. 89.) He chose another teacher, Uddaka, later.

[3] The trance state sometimes brought about by strong religious excitement is a feeble imitation of Yoga.

rstery treatises, the sacredly guarded Upanishads,[1] was plained to him. On his part, Gautama must have faithly observed the many hard and puerile duties of a disle.[2] As the result of all this, he became *Brahmacharin*, eeker of Brahma.

In order to complete his training as a Brahmacharin, crossed the Ganges into the province of Magadha, and re for six long years he practiced the terrible austerities the Yogis. His sanctity became noised abroad "as en the sound of a great bell is heard in the sky."[3] Five ciples choose him as master, and rendered him all man- of service.[4] These six years of Gautama's life is known the "Great Struggle." So far, Gautama's career had not fered from hundreds of other Hindoo ascetics. But now come to the first great feature of Gautama's system of igion.

At the present day, no one is called upon to deny that utama and other men of his character experience, as a ward for their acts, inward peace and joy. How can it otherwise when they have spent years in obtaining comte mastery over *self?* But in India, at the time of ddha and since, this knowledge was confined only to the nks of the initiates into higher Brahmanism. Others could in this knowledge in the same way they had. It was a rsonal matter, the knowledge they had acquired was to kept secret. And so they were content to pass their es in dreamy meditation. Buddhist history relates the ort it cost Gautama to overcome this fatal tendency.[5] t his better nature triumphed, and he determined to ach his doctrines to all "who have ears to hear," and

[1] Lillie: "Buddha," p. 103.
[2] Vide Williams: "Hindooism," chapter iii. [3] "Birth Stories," p.
[4] Ibid. 90. [5] Mahavagga, i. 5.

who would "send forth faith to meet it."[1] In other words, he was about to make public the esoteric knowledge of the past; he was going to try and induce the world to accept his teachings.

In carrying out this decision, the practical talents of Gautama became apparent. "He invented the missionary He invented the preacher. He forged an apparatus of propagandism, that has never been surpassed."[2] Like other great inventors, his ingenuity consisted in making a new use of existing materials. From the very earliest times, the life of the ascetic had been a very common one in India. In the old collections of Sacred Laws of the Hindoos, we find regulations for their lives. They are required to live chastely, not to amass any store, they must enter a village only to beg, must not stay two nights in the same village, their clothes are to consist of old rags which they shall have washed, etc.[3] Nor did these ascetics always live a solitary life. One whose reputed sanctity was great would attract many followers. We have just seen that Gautama, himself, was attended by five disciples during his great struggle.

And, if we may credit recent investigators, one association of these ascetics had already become very large and numerous, and was well organized; the texts of its faith and its customs in general being not greatly different from those finally adopted by Gautama. That sect still exists in India to-day under the name of *Jains*.[4] Out of such materials, Gautama gradually perfected his plans, which

[1] "Mahavagga, i. 5,12. [2] Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 286.
[3] Gautama's Institutes, III. ii. 24. "Sacred Books," Vol. II.
[4] On the Jains, consult Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 66-77. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 12. Colebrook's "Essays," ch. xii. See also Thomas: "Early Faith of Asoca" in J. R. A. S. for 1877. Cf. with the foregoing, Barth: "Religions of India," p. 140 *et seq.*

rere for the establishment on earth of the "Kingdom of ighteousness."[1] By his followers, Gautama soon came to be alled by another title, and by that he is principally known o-day. He was called Buddha, the enlightened one.[2]

One great trouble in following up the outline from this oint is to determine what was the primitive custom. We now with some certainty what the method of procedure nally came to be. We can not be so sure of its first tages. Buddha first took steps to gather around him a and of disciples. The five mendicants, who had served im during his six years' struggle, were his first adherents. Others joined their ranks, and Buddha, before any great ength of time, found himself at the head of sixty-one disiples.[3] Buddha adopted for the government of this order ubstantially the same laws as to dress and mode of life overning other ascetic bands. But we now come to the rst great improvement, which shows the originality of Buddha. Heretofore, discipleship was a personal matter n India. A band of disciples would gather around a eader. His personality held them together, at his death he association was broken up. But Buddha gathered his ixty-one disciples about him and sent them forth to preach is doctrines. "Let not two of you go the same way" was is first command. It was a strange mission that these omeless, begging monks started forth to perform. They rere to preach the necessity of living a "perfect and pure fe of holiness."[4] But this was not all, if they found other ike minded ascetics willing to embrace Buddha's doctrines, hey were to be at once initiated into the order, without

[1] Davids: "Birth Stories", p. 111.

[2] More than one investigation has pointed out the resemblance between *Buddha* and *Woden* (Odhinn). Cf. Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 230, *et seq.*

[3] Mahavagga i. 10. [4] Mahavagga i. 11, 1.

journeying to where Buddha himself might be staying.[1]

A very simple innovation, this, but thereby was set in motion the lever destined to largely influence the Oriental world. Another important point was, that this "proselyting" was not solely to re-inforce the ranks of Buddhist monks, but an effort was made to reach and influence the masses of the people. This was largely a new departure.[2] Laymen, who did not feel inclined to abandon the world, were received into a sort of church membership, they formed the *Upasaka* (adherent) class. A large share of Buddha's preaching was directed solely to this class. So, from the very earliest period, they make their appearance.[3] Few and simple were the positive rules they were to follow.[4] But they were urged to walk in the "Noble Path," and to pay due attention to the monks, who, on their part, were expected to "instruct them in religious truths, clear up their doubts, and point the way to heaven."[5]

Buddha is supposed to have lived for more than forty years after establishing his order; and is supposed before his death to have seen it already grown rich and powerful. Although the Buddhist literature of Ceylon professes to give quite full particulars of this important period, it is strongly argued, that we really know but little of it, that in all probability Buddhism spread first as a secret society, and that not until all India was filled with adherents of this new religion, about the time of Asoca, was it openly promulgated.[6] We can not settle this point; but if

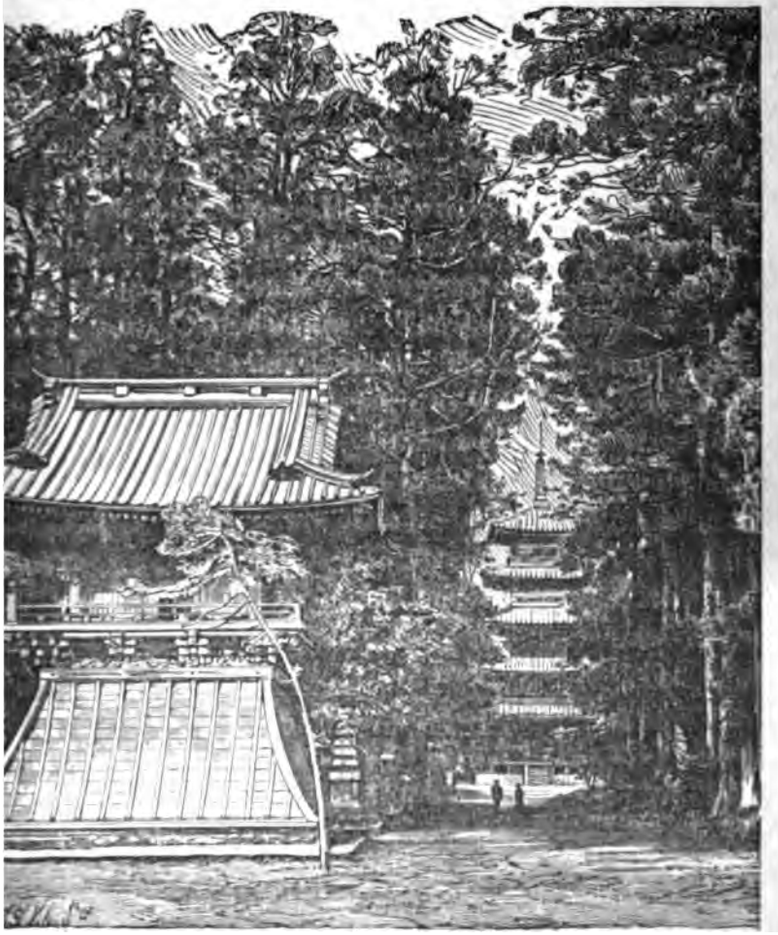
[1] Mahavagga i. 12, 1. [2] This statement must be made with due allowance for ignorance regarding the nature and extent of the Jainist movement.

[3] Kullavagga, v. 20. [4] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 383 note.

[5] "Admonition of Sigala." Childers in "Contemporary Review," Feb. 1876.

[6] Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 131. "Popular Life of Budda," p. 142.

e recall the great number and influence of mystic socie-
es in the Orient, it would not be at all strange if Bud-
ism grew first as a secret society.[1]



Buddhist Temple—China.

We must now inquire more particularly as to the doc-
ines taught by Buddha. When he made his appearance

[1] Secret in the sense that a formal initation was undergone when
ning the ranks; their proceedings were more or less in secret; the lay-
en who gave in their adherence were not necessarily known; and the
vernment of the order was more or less secret.

in India, we must remember that the common masses of the people were grossly superstitious. The Brahman priesthood had usurped the right to perform all religious offices. The educated classes were either passing their lives as ascetics or waging endless disputes as to the nature of Brahma, the Atman, the power of Illusion, etc. What Buddha desired to do was to substitute some practical morality for this superstition and too subtle metaphysics. All metaphysical discussions were therefore discouraged. What he wanted was actions not words. What he wanted was "no questioning about existence or non-existence, about eternity or non-eternity." He wanted the "boundless and illimitable realized but not talked about."[1] He accordingly empasized the every-day duties of morality. His discourses to the laity were almost entirely taken up with them.

If it were deemed advisable, whole pages could now be quoted with beautiful sayings that are recorded as coming from Buddha's lips. Space forbids, however, and we will only give a general idea of his teachings.[2] He aimed to awaken *spiritual* life in his hearers. He taught, that all manner of impure thoughts and unworthy actions produced pain; [3] if not in this world, then in the next.[4] He gave practical discourses on such subjects as "Earnestness," which, he says, is "the path of immortality:"[5] on "Thought," which, when "well guarded brings happiness."[6] The duty of "happiness" was pointed out. "Let us, live happily not hating those who hate us"[7] was his desire. The sin of "anger" was commented upon. He advised: "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good."

[1] Beal: "Romance History," p. 175. *Vide* "Sabbasva Sutta," 9.

[2] We would especially mention the following: "Sacred Books," Vols X. and XI Beal: "Dhammapada." Rockhill: "Udanavarga."

[3] Dhammapada. i 1 [4] Ibid. 17. [5] Ibid. 21.

[6] Ibid. 36. [7] Ibid. 197. [8] Ibid. 223.

He insisted on the necessity of *personal* action. His last recorded words are "work out your salvation with dilligence."[1] In another place, he exclaimed "you, yourself must make an effort."[2] He condemned the idea that bloody sacrifices could atone for sin. He asked: "Having a body defiled with blood will the shedding of blood restore it to purity."[3] He condemned asceticism of all kinds. He wanted his followers to follow the "Middle Path," between the two extremes, which are a life given over to pleasure, and a life of self mortification;[4] and in all things, he insisted on upright conduct. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when set round with upright conduct."[5] "Good works receive a man who has done good and has gone from this world to the other, as kinsmen receive a friend on his return."[6]

It is a melancholy fact, that it is not truth that conquers the world but *organization*. Buddha clearly realized this, and forwith trained and disciplined his monks and established his order. A large part of Buddhist writings are concerned with rules for the regulation and guidance of the monks. There were two stages of initiation into the order, the *Pabbajja* and the *Upasampada*. Entry into the first grade might be as early as fifteen years,[7] provided the parents gave their consent,[8] or, in special circumstances, even younger.[9] They could not be received into full membership before the age of twenty.[10] It required a chapter of at least ten monks to confer the Upasampada initiation.[11] While, in general, this order was open to every one, yet certain classes were excluded, as soldiers.

[1] Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, vi. 10
[2] Dhammapada, 276. [3] Beal: "Romance History," p. 159.
[4] Mahavagga, i 17 [5] Maha-Parinibbana Sutta i. 12.
[6] Dhammapada 220. [7] Mahavagga i. 50. [8] Ibid i. 54. [9] Ibid. 51.
[10] Ibid. i. 49, 6. [11] Ibid. i. 32, 2.

those afflicted with diseases, criminals, debtors, slaves, etc.

Admitted into the order, the new member had to choose a spiritual leader, and remain for ten years under his instruction.[1] The rules for their conduct were numer-



Angcor-Wat, Buddhist Temple—Siam.

ous and minute. Twice in each month, the monks in any given district, which was duly determined by bounds, were expected to meet and hold religious services. There was a sort of open confessional. The list of offences was gone

[1] Mahavagga i. 25.

over; and, if any monk had transgressed, then was the time to make it known. This part of their work was secret, but we also read that the people went there in order to hear the Dhamma.[1] This word means the precepts of Buddha.[2] So it would seem as if we here have something in the nature of ethical discourses to the people.[3]

It is not necessary for us to speak about the order of nuns. Let us study the growth and political development of Buddhism. While he lived, Buddha was the head of the order. The books of the southern Buddhists, from which we have been quoting, and which we will consider more at large soon, represent the order as being left without a head on Buddha's death.[4] It is supposed that, for a time at least, those first disciples and companions of Buddha exercised a nominal authority.[5] We will soon show that, by the middle of the third century B. C., there was an official head to the Buddhist church, his title was "the priest of all the world".[6] Perhaps for a long time before this, there had been some such an officer as this in existence.[7]

The real history of Buddhism does not begin until the middle of the third century B. C. Buddhist histories give us glowing accounts of the rapid spread of Buddhism. Wherever Buddha went, thousands were converted and monasteries were provided in abundance by the thankful zeal of newly converted kings and princes. Within a few

[1] Mahavagga ii. 2.

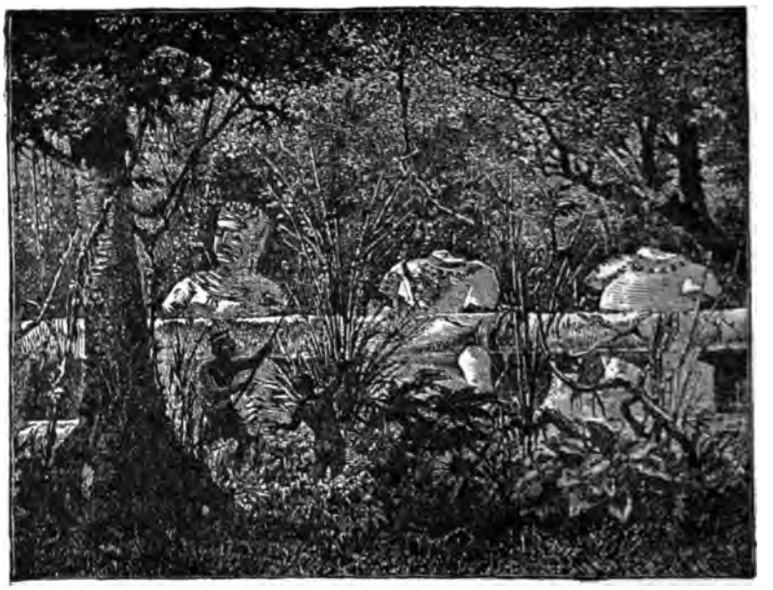
[2] Muller, Introduction to the "Dhammapada," p. xlv.

[3] This is opposed by Dr. Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 371, note; also p. 384. [4] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 341, note. [5] Ibid. 342.

[6] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 215.

[7] The "Mahawanse," a sacred historical book of Ceylon, certainly implies that there were various grades of priests from the start. It speaks of the *high* priest who was about to unfrock some of the subordinates, immedialety after the death of Buddha. It speaks of *grand* priests, of *chief* priests, and of priests of *high degree*. What do all these expressions mean if there was no gradation of authority?

months of his death,[1] a council of five hundred monks is said to have been held to settle the articles of faith; a hundred years later, a second council is recorded. These accounts can scarcely be called historical.[2] Back of the third century B. C., we have only the uncertain light of tradition to guide us. Before that date, writing was not common in India. It was used only for imperial proclamations etc.[3] We hear considerable about the wonderful memories of the Indian priests, and how faithfully traditions are



Bas Relief-Angcor-Wat.

1 The date of Buddha's death varies widely. Muller gives 477, B. C. Rhys Davids, 412, B. C. Westergard 368-70, B. C. Kern, 388, B. C. The Southern Buddhists assume 543, B. C. *Vide* "Sacred Books," Vol. X. p. xxxv.

2 Tiele: "History of Religion" p. 139. Lillie "Popular Life," ch. xiii.

3 Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II. p. 256. *et seq.* also chapter x ? was considered almost a desecration to put religious books in writing (Rhys Davids: "Buddhist Suttas," p. xxii.) Although the knowledge of writing is mentioned in the earliest books of Ceylon, yet the Sacred Books themselves were not reduced to writing before the first century B. C. Oldenberg: "Vinaya Texts," Introduction, p. xxxiii. *et seq.*

handed down by them. But nothing is more certain than that three or four centuries of oral transmission will give us anything but a faithful account of primitive times. The tendency is inevitable for recent events, customs, and manners to be transferred to early times.

We can, then, only surmise that Buddhism grew with considerable rapidity, silently, perhaps secretly, until the era of Asoca. That king was converted to Buddhism and forthwith made it the state religion. Basking in the sunshine of royal favor, it is not surprising that Buddhism lost somewhat of its early purity, nor is it strange that the reaction should carry it in the direction of superstition and mysticism. Then it is, that we begin to hear of the "Priest of all the world," the head of the Buddhist church; then it was, that Buddha was made a veritable god, and the worship of saints became established; then it was, that the slowly enveloping myths suddenly shot up into a luxuriant growth and so completely hid the historical Buddha from sight that we can hardly be sure of any details respecting his life.

This was the "Golden Age" of Buddhism. The Achary (high priest) of Magadha grew in power and influence. Later the great monastery of Nalanda became his head quarters. His person was esteemed so sacred that even his name was not to be pronounced. Whoever was admitted to the high honor of an interview with him was expected to fall prostrate before him and kiss his feet. Such a system as this implies a well graded hierarchy. When, in subsequent years, Buddhism was crushed out of India, the achary of Nalanda took refuge in Thibet, and is probably represented by the "Grand Lama." Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why China and Japan, which derived their Buddhism from India, should acknowl-

edge the authority of this Thibetan Pontiff.[1] Many writers have traced out the resemblance between the hierarchy of the Thibetan church and the position of the Grand Lama, and the hierarchy of the Catholic church and the position of the Pope.[2]

The Catholic missionary Huc observed to his astonishment among the Buddhists of Thibet "the cross, the mitre, the dalmaic, and the chasuble—that the superior lamas carry with them when traveling or performing some ceremony out of the temple—the choral service, the exorcisms, the censers supported by five chains and made to open and shut, the blessings which the Lamas bestow on the faithful—laying their hand upon the head of the supplicant—the rosary, the practice of ecclesiastical celibacy, of spiritual retreats, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, holy water, litanies, and many other details of ceremonial which are in use among the Buddhists precisely as in our own church."[3] The Catholic bishop Bigandet speaks also of this state of affairs in Thibet and of the hierarchy in Burmah.[4] What they are describing is but the final form of the order and religion of Gautama and, when we reflect on the conservatism of religion, we will doubtless agree that in all essential points it is not materially different from the same cult in the palmy days of King Asoca.

We must now turn to the consideration of the development of doctrine in Buddhism. Many centuries have elapsed since Buddha sent forth his sixty-one disciples. His followers have now separated into two great divisions; one theistic, and the other atheistic. Considerable

[1] *Vide* Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 183, by same author, "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 227.

[2] *Vide* "Hibbert Lectures," 1881, p. 192.

[3] "Christianity in China, Tartary and Thibet," Vol. II. p. 15.

[4] "Life of Buddah," Vol. II. p. 261.

dispute has arisen of late years as to the priority of these schools and which better represents primitive Buddhism. It seems to us that here, as in many other cases, the truth lies between two extremes. Buddha, as a Brahmacarin, was thoroughly posted in Indian Wisdom. But his mission was to sharply emphasize the necessity of morality. This colors all his sayings. In his discourses with the young Brahmans, he does not at all undertake to overthrow their ideas as to Brahma, but does insist that the way to union with him consisted in the discharge of moral duties and in purity of life. On their part, the Brahmans recognized that he was simply a reformer. They exclaim that he "sets up that which is thrown down....points out the right road to him who has gone astray."[1]

Buddha is described as being well versed in the "way of Brahma." He talks about the "world of Brahma," and the "Brahma heaven."[2] As St. Paul many year's later points out the difference between a Jew outwardly and a Jew inwardly, between circumcision of the heart and circumcision of the flesh;[3] so Buddha points out to the young Brahmans the distinction between a Brahman, who was one outwardly, and one inwardly.[4] It seems to us therefore reasonable to agree with many scholars that Buddha meant simply to reform the Hindooism of his day.[5] He would therefore not attack its philosophy, and it is more than probable that he accepted and taught, at least to the higher order of his monks, the estoric doctrines of higher Brahmanism.

But as remarked he wanted to emphasize the moral

[1] Tevigga Sutta. [2] Birth Stories. [3] Romans ii 28-29.

[4] Tevigga Sutta, i. 25 etc.

[5] This is now not questioned. See, for instance, Kuenen: "Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 256.

side of life. He well enough knew the fatal tendency of Brahmanical life. He therefore condemned metaphysical discussion. He utterly repudiated the idea that purity could come by philosophical views.[1] In one of the writings of the Southern Buddhist, a disciple comes to Buddha and requests him to clear up his doubts as to whether man is immortal or not. Buddha explained to him that knowledge on this and similar points "did not conduce to a life of holiness," and hence he refused to express himself.[2] It is not strange, then, that, as time passed on, confused and even contradictory opinions arose as to what were the beliefs and teachings of Buddha.

When Buddhism entered on its "Golden Age" under Asoca, it would be passing strange if it had retained its primitive simplicity. Judging from various symbols engraved on the ancient topes in India,[3] especially at Sanchi,[4] at that time the Buddhists worshiped first a trinity,[5] consisting of *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Sangha*. These terms, indeed, earlier had a very literal meaning. The candidate for initiation into the order of monks had to proclaim three times that he took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha, meaning thereby Buddha, the law, and the order.[6] This was called "taking refuge in the holy triad." For all we know to the contrary, there may have been an esoteric meaning given to these phrases from the start. But it is certainly not singular that such a meaning came to be applied to them in after times. Neither is it strange that, in the esoteric meaning so applied, we find simply a statement of Indian philosophy.

[1] Parayanavagga 8. [2] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 276.

[3] The Tri-Ratna, found engraved on monuments wherever Buddhism went. *Vide* Pincott: "The Tri-Ratna" in J. R. A. S. 1887.

[4] Above p. 176. [5] Cunningham: "The Bhilsa Topes," p. 351.

[6] Mahavagga i. 12, 4.

Briefly expressed then we may say tl
pears to have at that time believed in the e
infinite, eternal essence *Aditi-buddha*, (Supr
corresponding to Brahma. It denied the reality
nomenal world.[1] Aditi-buddha in conjunction
ma (the infinite mother of all), produced
tor, analogous to Iswara.[2] Judging from the ri
changes much slower than the literature), from
sentation of heaven (still extant in their sculptur
further held that the highest destiny of the spiri
of man was to be reunited with Aditi-buddha;
was a lot attainable only by the Buddhas; other
worthy, enjoy a life of immortality in one of
heavens.

Let us recall that from a train of
ti
seven was a sacred number generally thr
ent. As there were seven great gods in the C
ameshospands in Persia, seven holy rishis in the V
Gautama was said to have been the seventh Buddha. Each Buddha was held to be an emanation from the supreme Buddha,(Aditi-buddha), Dhamma was the mother of each, so each was a god-man, consenting to descend from the highest heaven, Tusita, and pass a life on earth for the good of men. Such a being is also called a Tathagatha, meaning, perhaps, the coming one or the one who "was to come." Buddha explained to inquiring Brahmans that "from time to time a Tathagatha is born into the world," his mission being to "make known the higher life, in all its purity and in all its perfectness."[3]

[1] Oldenberg: "Buddha," p. 238.

[2] *Vide* Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism" ch. ii: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 249 *et seq*. Hodgson in J. R. A. S. for 1835. Cunningham, Op. cit.

[3] "Tevigga Sutta," i. 46. As for this definition, see Bunsen: "Angel

The ritual of all Buddhist countries contain references to the worship of these past Buddhas.[1] Once when Buddha was preaching, an apparition appeared in the sky. It was the throne of one of the Buddhas of the past, and from it proceeded words of praise for the Tathagatha's preaching.[2] At the Stupa of Bharhut, General Cunningham found carvings representing the thrones and holy trees of each of the great Buddhas of the past.[3]

From the foregoing, we can perhaps form an idea of the Buddhism of the first period, by which we mean from the reign of Asoca down to about the commencement of the Christian Era. We see the theological side, held in abeyance by Buddha himself, finally winning a large share of attention. We see the order he had established growing in power and organization. Ancestor worship, which appeals so strongly to the feelings of primitive men, had also won recognition. Saint worship had sprung up. Seven Buddhas were worshiped instead of one. Relics of the great Buddha, or of the eminent saints, were priceless relics. It is not considered improbable that religious wars were undertaken to get possession of such treasures.[4]

About the commencement of the Christian Era, we come to the first great innovation largely due to a Hindoo sect, the *Tantrikas*. This sect were great believers in the powers of magic. There were no gods, or rather their own adepts were possessed of greater power. They affirmed that everything arises from nothing. Though they made

Messiah," p. 18. For criticism on the same, see Kellogg: "Light of Asia, etc." p. 107. Admitting with Dr. Kellogg that the meaning is "thus come," still taking this in connection with the statement in the Sutta "that from time to time," such beings are expected to become "thus come," what is so out of the way with Bunsen's definition?

1 Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 231, 217.

2 Saddharma-Pundurika, xi. 3 Lillie in J. R. A. S. for 1882.

4 Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. lxxxviii. (Sanchi.)

use of such terms as Maker, they considered them as mere words.[1] The nature of their knowledge they guarded with the utmost secrecy. But this continued to grow and to exercise more and more influence in India. After some centuries of conflict, Buddhism took up with some of their ideas.[2]

A council, assembled by the Turanian King Kaniska



Buddhist Temple, Island of Java.

(A. D. 10), first promulgated these new views.[3] The followers of this new Buddhism were known as the followers of this *Great Vehicle*. According to the Chinese Traveler Hwen Thsang, the primitive Buddhists (*Little Vehicle*) called this movement (in reference to its Atheism) the "carriage which drives to the great no-where;" they further said that it differed in nothing from the Tantrikas' philosophy.[4]

[1] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 217. [2] Cunningham: "Bhilsa Topes," p. 158. [3] Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 64.
[4] Lillie: "Popular Life of Buddha," p. 177.

Dr. Lillie further shows that though this doctrine was at first opposed by the acharya of Magadha, yet he finally accepted it. Another change had been going forward, which received the support of the new movement.

The belief had grown up, that several Buddhas had appeared in the past, and also that from time to time they would appear in the future. Those who will appear in the future are called *Bodhi-satwas*. The idea finally arose that the one destined to next appear was now enjoying a life of bliss in the highest heaven, Tusita. They gave it a pretty name, *Maitreya*, kindness. This was to be the future Buddha to rule the world. The next step was to worship this future Buddha. How early this movement arose we do not know, but the Great Vehicle movement took it up. The Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian expressly states that the disciples of the Little Vehicle (primitive Buddhists) worshiped the Buddhas of the past, but those of the Great Vehicle worshiped the Bodhi-satwas.[1] This same traveller, who was in India about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, found Buddhist monks and monasteries in great numbers, belonging to both vehicles from Cabul to Magadha.[2] Hweng Thsang, two centuries later, found both vehicles in Magadha; Ceylon must have been a stronghold of the Great Vehicle movement, since Thsang left on record that there were ten thousand monks, followers of that vehicle on that island;[3] in general, the Great Vehicle must have been in the majority. Hweng Thsang himself presided at the council summoned by King Siladitya to settle the vehicle question. This council suppressed the Little Vehicle. By this victory, those doctrines and ideas

[1] Lillie: "Popular Life," p. 174.

[2] Rhys Davids: "Buddhism," p. 143.

[3] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 218. Rhys Davids also shows that the worship of Maitreya existed there. ("Buddhism," p. 201.)

in Buddhism which give it the appearance of atheism, so strongly commented on by some,[1] were rendered a permanent feature.[2]

It is now necessary to glance at the development of Buddhist sacred literature. It is probable that many of the rules for the government of the order and ritual go back to a very early period. This is the part that was repeated at the fast days. Tradition doubtless clung tenaciously to the reputed sayings of Buddha. It is none the less true that the tendency would be for these collections of stories to grow with time. Asoca carved on the Bairat rock a list of seven tractates which he orders the Buddhists to recite in the temples. Besides these nothing else was to be recited. Some of these tracts can now be found buried up in the accumulation of later literature.[3] We may suppose that when the alphabet was fairly introduced such legends, histories, and doctrinal books would commence to grow. So, by the time that it was considered allowable to put the sacred literature into writing, it had grown to be quite voluminous.

About the beginning of the fifth century of our era, a young Brahman joined the Buddhist monastery at Nalanda. From his eloquence he was named *Buddha-ghosa* One day he was informed that in the island of Ceylon there was a commentary on their sacred texts, written in the Singalese language.[4] He accordingly went thither for

[1] Kellogg: "The Light of Asia etc." p. 176 *et seq.*

[2] Those who are acquainted with the discussion on Buddhism will see that we have come to the conclusions set forth by Dr. Lillie in his various works on Buddha and Buddhism, and opposed to Rhys Davids. We can not go into details further. But it seems to us that Dr Lillie amply sustains his views. See especially the new material in "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 220, and "Popular Life," chapter xvi. "The Hibbert Lectures" for 1881 gives Rhys Davids' views.

[3] Lillie: "Popular Life," p. 208 *et seq.*

[4] Muller: "Sacred Books," Vol. X. p. xxii.

the purpose of translating this back into Pali. Now Buddhaghosa, as a monk from Nalanda, was a follower of the Great Vehicle, this was also the orthodox faith in Ceylon. He had been but recently converted from Brahmanism. We of course cannot tell what school of philosophy he embraced before his conversion to Buddhism. It is at least possible that he belonged to some of the materialistic schools.[1] It is admitted that he was an able and ambitious man. He has been compared to Hildebrand.[2] It is extremely probably, therefore, that in his new translation he would insist on giving prominence to his own personal views. The importance of this becomes at once apparent when we realize the great influence he exerted on southern Buddhism.[3] Not only his commentary is employed, but, we are told, that all of the Buddhist pitakas are derived from Ceylon.[4] They were doubtless all subject to his influence. All these facts must be borne in mind by those who insist that the books of the southern Buddhists give us the truest ideas of primitive Buddhism. On the contrary, as they exist now, they give us Buddhagohsa's version of the teachings of the "Great Vehicle".

In many ways, Dr. Lillie thinks he can show that Buddhaghosa's version departed from the primitive teachings. It is difficult to account for the ritual and some of the symbols of Ceylon if Buddhism there has always been of the type described in the writings of Buddhaghosa. For instance, the worship of the seven Buddhas is covered up

[1] For instance the *Charvacas*, who were influential at an early day. They denied the existence of a soul, or of a life after death. They had confused ideas that the personal traits of character might go to another body after death. Colebrook's "Essays," p. 259-60.

[2] Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 65.

[3] The Buddhists of Burmah, for instance, owe their scriptures to him Bigandet: "Buddha," Vol. II. p. 134 note.

[4] "Buddhist Suttas," p. xxii.

by a story about a charm. Yet ritual and incidental notices in the writings show that such a worship did really exist. In the Chinese Dhammapada, certain expressions occur regarding the heaven of Brahma. Buddhaghosa omits those passages, yet in other parts of his writings, clear references to them exist, showing that they must have existed in the account before Buddhaghosa. It is quite probable that he deliberately interpolated suttas before him so as to make them either teach his doctrines or else to make them contradictory.[1]

One more phase of Buddha and his life must now be treated. Around such a character as Buddha, who had succeeded in establishing a religion which by the third century B. C. was embraced by hundreds of millions of people, would speedily gather innumerable myths and legends. Nor is it at all singular that the old sun myths would once more gather around him as a center.[2] We can understand how, as his religion grew and the old formula of initiation (Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha) grew into an expression for the trinity, Buddha himself would become deified, at least worshiped as the last of the seven Buddhas.

And this last idea, taken in connection with the doctrine of Bodhisatwa, the coming Buddha, would lead to the belief of his angelic life before his birth. Hence the legend begins with him as the anointed angel, waiting in the Tusita heaven for the hour to fully arrive, and he is welc-

[1] For instance the Brahmajala Sutta. In the table quoted from it to show that the Buddhists deny [illegible] that there is any soul or any existence after death [illegible] In the same Sutta is a passage which [illegible] quote, which does [illegible] the contrary, viz. [illegible] death. "Popular [illegible]

[2] A French writer [illegible] altogether mythical [illegible] dha.")

gin to notice the sun myth. He was born on Christmas,[1] because, at this time, ancient myths in many nations believed the sun of the new year to be born.[2] As a pre-existing angel, of course his earth life began by a miraculous conception.[3] His mother, though married to King Suddhodana of the Sakya tribe, was still a virgin. In a dream, she was made aware of the happy destiny in store for her, and angels informed the good king of the nature of the child to be born to him.

The queen was on a journey, when Pushya, "the king of the stars," showed by its position that the hour had come. In an Indian grove under a Sala tree, which bent its branches down to conceal her, amid many signs and wonders, the heavenly child was born. Four Brahmans received the child on a golden net, four great kings of the cosmos were present to render him homage, flowers and other offerings were presented to him, and above immortal spirits sang his praise. The holy nature of the child attracted great attention. A holy ascetic, dwelling afar, perceived by his magic power that a Buddha had been born, and he hurried to the city of Kapilavastu to see him. He took the child in his arms but wept to think he would not live to see his glory. When sent to school, he dumfounded the teachers by his miraculous knowledge. No matter how difficult the question he could answer.

Quite in the manner here pointed out there grew up a romantic life of Buddha. Every important event of his life was set off with some incident testifying to his supernatural character. These accounts must have early commenced

[1] Bunsen: "Ahgel Messiah," p. 23.

[2] Lillie: "Buddha and Early Buddhism," p. 22.

[3] In Egypt, India, Greece, in fact in the ancient world generally, every individual, who attained any prominence, was considered the son of some god or goddess.

) grow. Judging from the carved sculptur the
'ope, as well as at Amrivati, the legends m l
umed a systematic shape as ly as three cen c
hough until they were fin ly reduced to writir
would be subject to changes and new arrang

We have now only space for a few rem c
ing the spread of Buddhism. In a general way, it
how it spread over Eastern Asia, and even it
islands off the coast. The Island of Java, for i
overrun with Buddhist missionaries at an extrem r
date. Abbe Huc tells us that the fourth c of J
in Thibet are known as the "Wandering I r
life is devoted to wandering and preaching th
They visit every country at all accessible to t m. T
climb mountains, ford rivers, cross deserts, and l
dangers. We need not doubt that we have in tl
dering Lamas fair representatives of the first r
Buddha sent forth to preach Dhamma. His com
to preach his doctrine to all without exception.

He was obeyed. His ragged missionaries trave
far and wide. Only of late years are we learning how far
they did go, carrying with them the doctrines of the king-
dom of righteousness. Some eminently respectable author-
ities think they penetrated to America. We have not
space to investigate this subject. We need only remark
that some of the carvings found in Central America and
Yucatan are easy to explain on this hypothesis.[2] But the

[1] Beal ("Romantic Legend") gives these legends and many more. We have given quite enough to show their general character. Most any of the lives of Buddha contain incidents of these legends. Most of the incidents we have here referred to are represented in the Amrivati carvings (250 B. C. Ferguson: "Tree and Serpent Worship"). It would be well to compare what Dr. Kellogg has to say on this point, "The Light of Asia etc." p. 109.

[2] Consult Vining: "An Inglorious Columbus;" also Lillie: "Buddha

east was not the only direction of travel. They went west as well. We have referred to the connection between the name of Woden and Buddha. Long ago that quite eminent scholar, Godfrey Higgins, wrote a book to show that the Druids were in reality a sect of Buddhist monks.[1] More recently, Prof. Holmboe has marshalled a strong array of facts to show that Buddhist monks must have reached Norway.[2] Prof. Muller refers to the existence of Buddhism in Russia and Sweden.[3] The celebrated Round Tower in Ireland, dating from pre-Christian times, is thought by some to be a Buddhist monument.[4]

Here we will bring this chapter to a close. We are now down to a most interesting point in the history of religion; to the conflict between Greek Philosophy, Jewish Mysticism, Orthodox Judaism, and the doctrines of Buddha. Out of the conflict, then, emerge the numerous Gnostic sects; and finally, when the hour was fully come, Christianity was given to the world. But this must be reserved for a future chapter.

and Early Buddhism," chapter iv. Some of the carvings to which we allude are the following (This Series Vol. I. p. 570 *et seq.*): The Statue at Copan, Stone Tablet at Palenque, Statue from Palenque, the Beau Relief at Palenque, Two Headed Monument from Uxmal, The Seated Figure over the Doorway at Uxmal, etc.

1 "The Celtic Druids," London, 1829.

2 "Traces de Buddhisme en Norvege."

3 "From Vining", Op. cit.

4 Lundy: "Monumental Christianity," p. 255.

